

(3-71)

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**THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
ABRIDG'D.**

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THE  
HISTORY

OF THE  
REBELLION

AND  
CIVIL WARS

IN  
HISTORY

Beginning in the  
With the precedent  
REBELLION

IN FIVE  
PARTS  
BOOKS

By  
FREDERICK A. BRIDGES

With an Introduction by  
J. M. G. D.

THE HISTORY OF THE  
REBELLION

IN FIVE  
PARTS

BOOKS

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
AND  
CIVIL WARS  
IN  
*ENGLAND,*

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent  
PASSAGES and ACTIONS  
That contributed thereunto.

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IN FIVE BOOKS.

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Written by the Right Honourable  
*EDWARD,* late Earl of *Clarendon,*  
Lord High Chancellor of *England.*

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Faithfully ABRIDG'D.

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With an Alphabetical INDEX.

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*Res hodie minor est, fieri quam fuit. Juven. Sat. 3.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed: And Sold by *John Nutt,* near *Stationers-*  
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THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION

CIVIL WARS

IN  
ENGLAND

AND  
ASSASSINATIONS

AND  
MURDERS

INDEX

Printed and Sold by John W. ...  
1797



*Frederick Rogers*

# PREFACE.

**T**HE Earl of Clarendon's History has met with that Reception in the World it deserves; and I think the Publick never was enriched with a nobler Piece, in respect either of the Subject or the Method.

'Tis the History of a Rebellion; and such a Rebellion as no Age can ever equal, no Nation parallel. It was beautified with the Colour of Law, and adorn'd with the Cloak of Religion; upon which Advantages it thrived so well, that at length it grew too strong for both. Being conceiv'd in a long Serenity of Peace, and fed with the liberal Hand of Plenty, it abhorr'd at first the usual Methods of Fury and Confusion, nor started out immediately into Blood and Ruin, but fawning upon that Majesty it intended to insult, it began in submissive Speeches, sophistical Distinctions, popular Petitions, and Addresses; and indeed did more Mischief in the Senate-House than in the Field.

It is (and I am almost ashamed to say it) the History of an English Rebellion against a Prince, who as little deserv'd such undutiful Returns from his ungrateful Subjects, as any  
that

## P R E F A C E.

that are now shining in our Annals. It is a Monster of so prodigious a Make, that Posterity will justly abhor the devilish Spirit of those Men, who first gave it Birth, and stained themselves and their Country with so odious a Blemish. In short, it is an Imputation so scandalous to the English Name, that it were to be wish'd the very Mention of it might be lock'd up in Oblivion, no more to be remember'd to the Dishonour of the Nation; but since the Mark is so visible, and the Blot too notorious to be hid, a clear and impartial Account of it is what we next are to wish for, and which the Noble Author has oblig'd his Country with. A Work for which no Man seem'd better qualified than himself, because no Man was more acquainted with the Transactions of those Times; for he might say with the Hero in the Poem, Quæq; ipse miserrima vidi, & quorum pars magna fui; nor cou'd any with a better Judgment give every material Circumstance its proper Weight. I make no Doubt, but they, who have read his first Volume, will agree with me, that he seems to have written it with the same Condour and Affection to Truth and Justice, with which he embraced the Cause, and that he was not a more zealous Patriot, than faithful Historian.

These Considerations made me wish the Book had been more publick than I found it was, that every one might see, what Artifices the busie Men of those Days made use of to ensnare the People, and so be arm'd against the like  
At-

## P R E F A C E.

*Attempts; for we can't but know too well, that the same evil Spirit lies still lurking among us, and that some Men want only an Opportunity to open those Wounds afresh, which Time, through the Mercy of God, has in a great Measure closed up. But we purchase our Follies and Vanities at too dear a Rate, to lay out much upon Instruction, which must come upon cheap Terms, or it will find no Reception. And I perceiv'd the Price of that History was the Reason a great many gave for their not reading it; which induced me to attempt an Abridgement of it, and thereby remove that Objection. This I have done, with that Regard to the Author as became me: I have followed him in the Thread of his Narration, and preserv'd the Course of his History entire and unbroken; and I hope the Reader will find the lively Lineaments of the Face express'd in this compendious Minature, which are more copiously drawn, and advantageously explain'd in the capacious Original.*

E R.



## ERRATA

**P**AG. 32. lin. 23. read *provisional*. P. 33. l. 27. r. *dutifully*. P. 77.  
l. 36. r. *many*. P. 120. l. 2. r. *had made*. l. 9. r. *concluded*. P. 124.  
l. 23. r. *subseq.* P. 149. l. 11. r. *whither*. P. 207. l. 1. r. *lys*. P. 297.  
l. 21. r. *Relation*.

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OF THE  
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DEUT. IV. 7, 8, 9.

*For what Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?*

*And what Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous, as all this Law which I set before you this Day?*

*Only take heed to thy self, and keep thy Soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine Eyes have seen.*

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BOOK I.

---

**T**HAT Posterity may not hereafter impute *The Preface of the Author.* that total, and prodigious Alteration and Confusion over the whole Kingdom, to a general Combination, and universal Apostacy in the Nation from their Religion and Allegiance; and that the Memory of those, who deserv'd well of their Country in the worst of Times,

B

may

## The HISTORY of

may find a Vindication in a better Age: It will not be amiss to look back, and view those former Passages, and Accidents, that gave a Being to the Rebellion, and rais'd it to that Height to which it afterwards arrived.

And tho' the Hand of God will visibly appear in the Course of it, in infatuating a People into all the perverse Actions of Folly and Madness, yet he who shall diligently observe the Conjunctions and Distempers of Time, will find all these Miseries to have proceeded from the same natural Causes and Means which have usually attended Kingdoms, whom Plenty, Pride, and Excess, have prepared for the Hand of Divine Vengeance.

Nor will I pretend to so sharp a Sight, as those who discover'd this Rebellion contriving at home, and fomented from abroad immediately upon (if not before) the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*: It is not upon that Belief I look so far back, but that by taking a cursory View at once of the Court and Country, we may discern how the Minds of Men became prepared, what through Pride, Levity, Moroseness, or Popularity, all to contribute jointly to this Mass of Confusion now before us.

*A View of  
the begin-  
ning of  
King  
Charles his  
Reign.*

King *James* died in *March*, 1625. and left his Son engaged in a War with *Spain*, without any Supplies to support or manage it, tho' undertaken by the Advice and Consent of Parliament: And therefore after a chargeable unsuccessful Attempt upon *Cadiz*, and a more unfortunate Repulse at the Isle of *Ree* (for some Distast had likewise at the same time begotten a War with *France*) a general Peace was shortly concluded with both Kingdoms: For the Exchequer was so exhausted with King *James* his Debts, and his Son's Bounty upon his first Access to the Crown, that many Inconveniences were afterwards submitted to for Supplies, which



## *the* REBELLION.

3

no Addition of Power or Plenty could ever since repair.

Parliaments were summoned in Hast, and dissolved in Displeasure; the third in his Majesty's Reign (after the Dissolution of the two former) was determined with a Declaration generally interpreted, as if the Nation were to expect no more Assemblies of that Nature, and that it was dangerous for any Man so much as to speak of a Parliament. From this Source flowed those Waters of Bitterness we now tast. The Court and Country parted at those precipitate, unskillful, and unreasonable Dissolutions, with that Diffidence to each other, which usually accompanies Persons who never meant to meet but in their own Defence. And the Disadvantage generally lay on the King's side, who harboured those about him, that with a double Turn of Knavery cou'd improve the Faults and Infirmities of the Court to the People, and as much as in 'em lay make the People suspected if not odious to the King.

The hasty and unkind Dissolution of the two first Parliaments was imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and of the third to the Lord *Weston*, then Lord High-Treasurer of *England*. Both in respect of the mighty Share they had in his Majesty's Affections, and for that the Dissolutions happened just when some Charges and Accusations were preparing, and ready to be preferred against 'em. That Servant, who in Obedience to his Prince's just Commands, upon extraordinary Occasions, and in Execution of his Trust, swerves from the strict Letter of the Law, deserves a Protection from the Power that employed him. But for the Prerogative to interpose, and secure a Servant from answering the Crimes alledged against him, lays not only an Imputation upon the Prince of being privy to the Offence, but fixes so great a Scandal upon the Party himself, that he is generally thought guilty

## The HISTORY of

ty of all whatever is laid to his Charge, which is commonly more than the worst Man ever deserved. And this Course of priviledging Men from Prosecution by dissolving of Parliaments, render'd their Power much more formidable, because conceived to be without Limit; since the supream Power seem'd compell'd to that rough Cure, and to put an End to their Beings, because it could not control their Jurisdiction, which at the same time made 'em of less Esteem with the Crown, but of more Veneration with the People; especially after that improvident Resolution was taken of declining those Conventions, all Men looking on themselves forbidden by that Proclamation so much as to speak as if a Parliament should be call'd.

*The State  
of the  
Court a-  
bout that  
time.*

And here a short View of the State of the Court, and the Council at that Time, will give us an Insight into the Temper and Affections of the People in general. In which Prospect the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was most barbarously murdered about this Time) appears in chief. His Influence had been unfortunate in the Publick Affairs, and his Death produced a Change in all the Councils.

*The Rise  
of the  
Duke of  
Bucking-  
ham.*

He was Younger Son to Sir *George Villiers* of *Brooksby*, in the County of *Leicester*; a Family transported with the Conqueror out of *Normandy*, where it still continues with Lustre. This Gentleman was by a second Venter, his Mother being a Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*, who upon his Father's Death sent him into *France*, from whence after having master'd the Languages, and grown perfect in the Exercises of Riding and Dancing, he returned into *England* by that time he was 21 Years of Age.

King *James*, who then reign'd, was of all wise Men living the most taken with handsom Persons, and fine Cloaths; so that Mr. *Villiers*, whose first Introduction into Favour was purely from the Hand-

Handſomneſs of his Perſon, upon his Appearance in Court quickly drew the King's Eyes on him; nor were the Courtiers wanting to contribute all they could to promote him in Oppoſition to *Somerſet*, who was the only Favourite, that kept that Poſt ſo long, without any publick Reproach from the People, but of whom the King began to be weary, and who found enough in the Court ſufficiently angry with him, for being what they themſelves deſired to be, and becauſe he was a *Scotchman*, advanced in a ſhort time from a Page to the Height he was then at. In ſo much that it was not long before *Villiers* was made Cup-bearer to the King, and ſo admitted to that Converſation and Diſcourſe, with which that Prince always abounded at his Meals.

He acted very few Weeks upon this Stage before he mounted higher. He was Knighted, made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, Baron, Viſcount, Earl, Marquiſs, and Lord High-Admiral of *England*, in a time very ſhort for ſuch a prodigious Aſcent, and entirely diſpoſed of all the King's Favours, chiefly to his own Relations, without a Rival; which Preeminence in his Maſter's Graces he managed ſo unthriftily, that the World had a melancholy proſpect of that Poverty, which afterwards beſel the Crown almoſt to the Ruin of it.

Many were of Opinion, that the King before he died grew weary of him, and that if he had lived he would have deſteſted him of his large unlimited Power, which, how groundleſs it was, appears by his Maſteſty's creating him Duke of *Buckingham*, during his Abſence with the Prince in *Spain*, and his executing the ſame Authority upon his Return he had done before. And yet if that King's Nature had been as equally diſpoſed to pull down, as to exalt, and he had been as prompt to puniſh, as he was inclinable to oblige, it is not to be doubted



but he had withdrawn his Affection from him before he died.

*An Account of  
Prince  
Charles  
his Journey into  
Spain.*

For 'tis certain the King was never well pleased with him after the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which was contrived by the Duke out of Envy to the Earl of *Bristol*, who had hitherto the sole Management in that great Treaty; and therefore he one Day insinuated into the Prince the common Misfortune of Princes, who in so grand a Concern as that of Marriage, followed not their own Judgments, but depended upon others. That it would be a high piece of Gallantry in his Highness to fetch the Infanta himself. That a Journey into *Spain* would put an End to all those Formalities which might yet retard her Voyage into *England*, and facilitate the restoring the *Palatinate*, the only Point that remain'd undetermined, and was not entirely yielded unto.

*He proposes it to  
his Father.*

These Discourses prevailed so much upon the Prince, that he had no Difficulty in View, but the procuring the King's Consent, for the obtaining of which he addressed himself in such pressing but humble Terms to his Majesty, and was seconded so artfully by the Duke, that the King with less Hesitation than by Nature he was accustomed to, gave his Consent that the Prince should make the Journey he was so earnestly bent upon. They therefore, to prevent any new Measures which a solemn Preparation for so rash an Undertaking might by degrees give Birth to, as soon as they had the King's Promise upon the main, told him the Security of such a Design depended on Expedition; that were they either to stay the equipping a Fleet fit to attend the Prince of *Wales*, or 'till a Pass might be obtained from *France*, the principal Ends of their Journey would through Delay be disappointed; that therefore since the Design had hitherto been a Secret to all but themselves, they might, attended by

*Who consents to it.*

no more than two Servants, get through *France*, before they could be mist at *Whitehal*, which indeed was very probable, and so the more readily consented to by the King; the time of their Departure, the Servants that were to attend 'em, and whatever else should be thought necessary being deferred 'till a second Consultation on the next Day.

But when the King in his Retirement came sagaciously to reflect, on what had so loosely been consulted before; a thousand Difficulties and Dangers occur'd, suggested as well by the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, as the Influence he thought it might have on his People, too much inclined to Murmur, and complain of the least Inadvertency; together with the Reputation he should lose among all Foreign Princes, if he so much departed from his Dignity, as to expose his immediate Heir to the Caprices, and Jealousies of State.

These Reflections were so terrible, that when the Prince and Duke came to him about the Dispatch, he fell into a violent Passion with Tears, and told them he should be undone if they pursued the Resolution. Then he recounted to 'em all the Difficulties that had occurred to himself in his Retirement, observing to the Duke, who was already very ungracious to the People, how unavoidable his Ruin must be; concluding in that Disorder with which he begun, and begg'd 'em unless they had a mind to break his Heart, to give over any farther Thoughts of the Matter.

Neither these, nor any other of the many Reasons his Majesty had insisted on, did the Prince or Duke take the Pains to answer. His Highness only reminded him of the Promise he had made the Day before, which if he should violate, it would make him never think of Marriage more. But the Duke, who better knew what Arguments would prevail,

treated him more rudely, told him his Breach of a Promise so solemnly made, would lose his Credit with all Mankind, and that it would be such a Disobligation to the Prince, whose Heart was set upon the Journey after his Majesty's Approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any Man who had been the Occasion of it. So that at last the Prince by his humble and importunate Entreaty, and the Duke by his rougher Dialect, prevailed so far, that the Debate upon the Journey was resumed, in which it was agreed, that they should take their Leaves of the King in two Days, his Highness pretending to hunt at *Theobald's*, and the Duke to take Physick at *Chelsey*.

They told him that being to have no more than two in their Company, they had pitch'd upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who were both grateful to the King, the former being Secretary to the Prince, and the other of his Bed-chamber, so that his Majesty wished it might be presently imparted to 'em, for that many things would occur to them, as necessary to the Journey, which they two would never think on; whereupon Sir *Francis Cottington*, waiting of Custom in the outward Room, was quickly brought in; to whom the King said, *Cottington*, here is Baby *Charles*, and *Stenny*, (for so he always called the Duke) have a great Mind to go Post into *Spain*, to fetch home the *Infanta*, and designing to have but two in their Company, have chosen you for one, what think you of the Journey? Sir *Francis* replied, that he could not think well of it; for that *Spain*, when they had the Prince in their Hands, would make what new Overtures they believed most advantageous to themselves, and among the rest many that concerned Religion, and the Exercise of it in *England*, and by that means render all that had been done towards the Match ineffectual. Upon this the King fell into new

Pas-



Passion and Lamentation, and said, he was undone, and should lose Baby *Charles*. Hereupon the Duke reproached *Cottington* with all possible Bitterness of Words, told him the King asked him only of the Journey, and not his Advice upon Matter of State, which he had the Presumption to give against his Master, and which he should repent as long as he lived. This put the poor King into a new Agony, on the Behalf of a Servant like to suffer for answering honestly, upon which he said with some Heat, *Nay by God, Stenny, you are very much to blame to use him so; he has answered like an honest and wise Man to the Question I asked him, and you know 'tis no more than I told you before he came in.* However after all this Passion on both sides, the King yielded, having by this plainly discovered that the whole Intrigue was first contrived by the Duke, and now pursued by his Spirit and Impetuosity.

And this his Indisposition towards the Duke was extremely encreased, and aggravated upon, and after the Prince's Return out of *Spain*; for tho' it brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majesty, and the whole Kingdom, yet the King was wonderfully disquieted, when he found the Prince wholly aliened from the Match, and that with or without his Approbation they were resolved to break it.

Immediately after this the King, in the 21st Year of his Reign, summoned a Parliament, and by that time it could meet, the Duke had wrought himself into the very great Esteem of some who were like to be the Leading Men in both Houses, and who were fond of having as much Reputation in the Court as they had in the Country. At the Opening of this Parliament, as it was thought highly necessary for the King to make Mention of the Treaty with *Spain*, and the sad Condition of his only Daughter in *Germany*, so that the Prince and Duke should

*A Parliament is called after the Prince's Return.*

should make a Relation of what had passed in *Spain*, especially concerning the *Palatinate*.

Things being thus methodized, after the Houses had been three or four Days together, the Prince began to speak of the *Spanish* Affairs, and of his own Journey thither, wherein he forgot not to mention the Duke with more than an ordinary Affection, who observing the heavy Resentment the King had of what was past, and the Affection he still bore to the *Spanish* Treaty, resolved to do all he could to ingratiate himself with the Parliament and the People, who he knew had always an Aversion to the Match, and indeed any Alliance with *Spain*.

The Prince  
and Duke  
give the  
House an  
Account of  
their Journey  
at a  
Conference.

So when at a Conference between the two Houses, which his Highness and the Duke were desired to manage, the Prince had made a short Introduction to the Business, and commended the Duke for his great Care of him whilst in *Spain*, and his Dexterity in getting him away, he referred the whole Relation to him, who said, " That the real Intent  
" of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, had been to  
" make a clear Discovery of the *Spaniards* Integrity,  
" ty, and if he was sincere in what he pretended.  
" That the Embassador, who had the sole Management  
" of that great Affair, writ in one Dispatch that all  
" was concluded, and in the next, that new Difficulties  
" and fresh Demands were started and insisted upon.  
" These Ebbs and Flouds made the Prince apprehend,  
" that their Business was to amuse us whilst they had  
" other secret Designs in Agitation; and that thereupon  
" his Highness had prevailed with his Father that he might  
" make that Journey. That they were no sooner got to  
" *Madrid*, than they discovered their Purpose never  
" was to give him the Infanta. That instead of proceeding  
" upon the Articles, which were thought concluded,  
" they urged new Demands, and in  
" Mat-

“ Matters of Religion so peremptorily, that the  
 “ principal Clergymen, and some of the most E-  
 “ minent among that King’s Preachers, had not only  
 “ frequent Conferences with the Prince to per-  
 “ suade him to turn Papist, but had procured the  
 “ Pope to write a Letter himself to his Highness  
 “ upon the same Subject; but that it had pleased  
 “ God to give him not only a constant, and un-  
 “ shaken Heart in his Religion, but such Strength  
 “ of Argument to defend the same, that they stood  
 “ amazed to hear him, and confessed they were  
 “ not able to answer him. That the Prince was  
 “ never suffered to confer with, hardly, and very rarely  
 “ to see his Mistress, whom they pretended he was  
 “ upon the Point of Marrying. That they ne-  
 “ ver could obtain a more satisfactory Answer in  
 “ the Business of the *Palatinate*, than that it was  
 “ not in the King of *Spain*’s Power to restore it,  
 “ but that his Catholick Majesty would interpose  
 “ with all the Credit he had with the Emperor, and  
 “ Duke of *Bavaria*, without whose joint Consent  
 “ it could not be done; but that he was well assur-  
 “ ed there was no more real Intention in that Point  
 “ of Restitution, than in the other of Marriage,  
 “ and that there were no Hopes of recovering the  
 “ *Palatinate* by any other means than that of Force,  
 “ which would easily bring it to pass.

Throughout his whole Discourse he reflected fre-  
 quently upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as if he was privy  
 to the *Spaniards* purposes, and concurred with ’em  
 in it. That therefore the King had recalled him,  
 that he might account for all his Miscarriages.  
 Whereas his Majesty had sent for him, rather to as-  
 sist him against the Duke, than to expose him to his  
 Malice, and Fury.

The Conference ended in an high Applause of the  
 Prince’s and Duke’s Behaviour, and an hasty Reso-  
 lution to dissuade the King from any farther  
 Thoughts



*The Parliament resolves to declare War with Spain.*

Thoughts of the Match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*; towards the carrying on of which, they made him Mountains of Promises, and prevailing in the first, they never thought of making good the latter; a thing too often happening in such Councils.

The King was infinitely offended when he heard what the Duke had so confidently avowed, without any Authority or Direction from him, a great Part whereof himself knew to be false, so that he wanted only the Assistance of a resolute brisk Counsellor to destroy the Duke, and such a one he promised himself in the Earl of *Bristol*, whom he every Day expected.

*The Rise and Fall of the Earl of Middlesex.*

There was another thing which touched him as near, and in which he enlarged himself much more. *Lionel Cranfield*, who (tho' a Gentleman by Birth) had been bred in the City, and being a Man of great Wit and Understanding in all the Mysteries of Trade, had wrought himself into the Duke of *Buckingham's* Favour, and having some time after married a near Relation of the Duke's, was by his means made Privy-Counsellor, Master of the Wardrobe, Master of the Wards, and shortly after Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middlesex*. He had by his notable Dexterity gained so much Credit with the King, that during the Duke's Absence in *Spain*, he not only neglected issuing out such Sums of Money as those unlimited Expences required, but had the Courage to dispute his Commands, and appeal to the King, whose Ear was always inclined to him.

As soon therefore as the Duke found the Parliament disposed to a good Opinion of him, he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival, and easily procured some Leading Men in the House of Commons to send an Impeachment for several Corruptions and Misdemeanors up to the Lords House against

gainst that great Minister. The wise King readily foresaw the ill Consequences of such an Activity, which was a Breach upon his Royal Power, and so much without a President, that (except one unhappy one made Three Years before, to gratifie likewise a private Displeasure) the like had not been heard of for many Years. He sent therefore for the Prince and Duke, and earnestly conjur'd 'em to make use of all their Interest and Authority to restrain it, as a Wound to the Crown not easily to be healed; and finding the Duke unmoved at all his Arguments and Commands, he added in greater Choler, "By God, *Sten-*  
"ny, you are a Fool, and are making in this fit of Popula-  
"rity a Rod to scourge your self; and turning in some Anger to the Prince told him, "He would in time have  
"his Belly-full of Parliament Impeachments, and  
"that by the two Presidents he was now so fond of, meaning as well the engaging the Parliament in the War, 'as the Prosecuting the Earl of *Middlesex*,  
"he would remember to his Sorrow, how much he  
"had contributed to the Weakning the Crown.

But the Duke had gain'd so great Power in both Houses, that the King's Interposition was ineffectual, and the Earl, notwithstanding the good Defence he made, was at last condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long Imprisonment, and an Exclusion from his Seat in Parliament during Life. A Clause of such a nature, as was never met with before in any Judgment of Parliament, and indeed not to be inflicted on a Peer but by Attainder.

Notwithstanding all this, the King was so far from manifesting his Resentment against the Duke, (except in Whispers to some few Men) that, contrary to his Promise, he was prevail'd with to restrain the Earl of *Bristol* upon his first Arrival, without admit-

*The Earl of  
Bristol ac-  
cus'd in  
Parlia-  
ment.*

to

*Accuses  
the Duke.* to the Tower; but answer'd the Articles with great  
steadiness, and exhibited another Charge of High-  
Treason against the Duke.

*K. James  
dies.* Thus was the War hastily enter'd into against  
*Spain*, and a new Treaty set on Foot with the Daugh-  
ter of *France*, which was quickly concluded, but  
not fully compleated 'till after King *James's* Death,  
who in the Spring following was carried out of the  
World in four or five Fits of an Ague. His Death  
was attended with many scandalous Discourses, rais'd  
without the least ground, as appear'd long after up-  
on a strict and malicious Examination, when no bo-  
dy was afraid of offending Majesty, but on the con-  
trary thought it meritorious to reproach the Royal  
Family.

King *James* being dead, Prince *Charles* was pro-  
claimed King; who continued to the Duke the same  
degree of Favour he had enjoyed so many Years before  
under his Father, all Preferments in Church and State  
passing through his Hands; all his Friends and Re-  
lations being promoted to what Wealth and Honour  
he thought fit, and his Enemies as much discounte-  
nanc'd and depress'd.

This King, in his first Parliament, quickly found  
how prophetick his Father in his Predictions was like  
to prove. The Parliament who had so unadvisedly  
advanc'd the War was now no more; and tho' the  
House of Peers consisted still of the same Men, and  
the chief of the House of Commons were again re-  
turn'd, yet were they far from thinking themselves  
concern'd to make good any former Declarations.  
Their late Affection for the Duke was now turn'd  
into Prejudice and Animosity against him: He who  
before was call'd their Saviour, for bringing the  
Prince safe out of *Spain*, was now look'd upon as no  
other than the Corrupter of the King, and Betrayer  
of the Liberties of the People; and his ill Manage-  
ment was made the Pretence for their Refusal to give  
his



his Majesty that Supply the state of his Affairs so evidently required.

This transported the Duke into a greater Contempt of them than in Prudence he ought to have express'd, for he caus'd this and the following Parliament to be dissolv'd, before he could well discern of what Temper they were in truth like to prove; and such as had given Offence, were upon ev'ry Dissolution imprisoned or disgrac'd: New Projects were daily set on foot for Mony, and many Persons committed to Prison for refusing to pay what was required by those extraordinary ways, which gave occasion for Expostulation, Murmur and Complaint, when in a new Parliament Supplies should be demanded.

In this fatal Conjunction, and whilst the King was so unhappily engaged against *Spain*, a new War was precipitately declared against *France*; in the Beginning of which the Duke made that unfortunate Attempt upon the Isle of *Ree*, in a miserable Retreat from whence the Flower of the *English* Army was lost. So that *France* and *Spain*, tho' no Friend to each other, were both bitterly incens'd against *England*; whilst the Ministry at home were so entirely possess'd with the Thought of Revenge, upon the Person whom they judg'd the Cause of their Distress, that they gave no Truce to their Rage, 'till the Duke finished his Course by a villainous Assassination, in the Fourth Year of the King, and the Thirty sixth of his Age.

*John Felton*, a Man obscure in his Person, tho' of *The Duke* a good Family in *Suffolk*, having been by the Duke *Assassinated* refused a Company, whose Captain was killed upon the Retreat at the Isle of *Ree*, and in which he had serv'd as Lieutenant, threw up his Commission, and withdrew from the Army at that time when the House of Commons, transported against the Duke, had accused him to the House of Peers, styling him "The Fountain of all the Evils the Kingdom suf-  
fered

“fered, and an Enemy to the Publick; which wrought so far upon this melancholick Gentleman, that he thought in killing the Duke he should do God good Service, and therefore resolved to do it. The Duke was then at *Portsmouth*, whither *Felton* repaired the Eve of Saint *Bartholomew*.

The next Morning Monsieur *Soubize*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and other *French* Gentlemen, were urgent with him for the Departure of the Fleet design’d to relieve *Rochell*, which was straitly besieged by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and which the Duke was then advertised had relieved it self. These Gentlemen insisted much upon the Impossibility that the Intelligence could be true; that it was contrived by their Enemies to abate that Zeal used for their Relief, the Arrival of which they had so much reason to apprehend.

This Discourse was held with so much Passion, that the Standers by who understood not *French* thought they were angry, and that they used the Duke rudely; who being informed that his Breakfast was ready, for which he had waited, drew near the Door, where the Hangings were held up, and as he was turning to speak with Sir *Thomas Fryar*, he was in an Instant struck over his Shoulder upon the Breast with a Knife; upon which without any more Words than *The Villain hath kill’d me*, he pulled out the Knife, and the same Moment fell down dead.

It was a great Miracle that the *French* were not all killed that Instant; for no Man had seen the Blow, or the Person who gave it, so every one concluded from their late angry Discourse, as they thought, that it must be done by them; the soberest Part that preserv’d’em having the same Opinion of their Guilt, reserving them only for a more deliberate Inquisition.

In the Crowd near the Door there was found upon the Ground a Hat, in the Inside of which were sew'd three or four Lines of the Declaration, in which the House of Commons styled the Duke an Enemy to the Kingdom, and one or two short Ejaculations towards a Prayer. All readily concluded that the Hat belonged to the Person, who had committed the Murder, but who that Person should be, was a Difficulty still remaining. In this Hurry, whilst every one was in Motion, a Man was seen walking very composedly before the Door without a Hat; whereupon one crying out, *This is the Fellow that killed the Duke*, and others demanding, *Which is he?* He answered without any Concern, *I am he*; and when some of the most furious were running violently upon him to kill him, whilst others of equal Concern for the Loss, but more Discretion, defended him, he with open Arms invited their Swords, desiring rather to fall by their Fury, than be reserved for that deliberate Justice, which he knew would be executed upon him.

Being carried into a private Room surrounded by Persons of the best Condition, some whereof were in Authority, and demanded at whose Instigation he was induced to that execrable, and horrid Act; he answered resolutely, "That their Enquiry was needless; that no Man living had Power enough with him to dispose him to such an Action; that it proceeded meerly from the Impulse of his own Conscience; that he had fixed his Motives thereunto in his Hat, because he thought he might probably perish in the Attempt; that he had come to Town the Night before, and waited that Morning at the Duke's Lodgings for his coming out; that when he found him coming by the Motions within, he drew near to the Door as if to hold up the Hangings, and whilst the Duke inclined a little to Sir Thomas Fryar, who was speaking to him,



“he took the Opportunity of giving the Blow over his Shoulder. But after he had been some time in Prison, both before, and at his Tryal, he behaved himself with great Modesty and Repentance, and earnestly begged of the Judges that his Hand, with which he had perpetrated the impious Act, might be struck off before he should be put to Death.

*In what manner the King received the News of the Duke's Death.*

His Majesty, who was then at *Southwick*, four Miles from *Portsmouth*, was at Divine Service, when Sir *Tho. Hippesty* came into the Room, who with a troubled Countenance went directly to the King, and whispered in his Ear what had fallen out. He continued unmoved 'till Prayers were ended, but then he withdrew immediately into his Chamber, threw himself upon his Bed, and continued in a melancholick Discomposure of Mind a long time after. Yet the manner with which he received the News in publick, made many, who knew not with what Passion he expressed himself upon his Retreat, to think the Accident was not very ungrateful to him, as being rid of a Favourite very ungracious to the People, and the Prejudice to whose Person was a great Obstruction to all Overtures made in Parliament for his Service.

*The Duke's Character.*

He was a Man of a Noble, Generous Nature, well vers'd in all the Arts of a Court; of a Courage not to be daunted, as all his Actions and his Contests with particular Persons of the highest Reputation sufficiently manifest, especially his whole Demeanour at the Isle of *Ree*. As he was vehement in his Kindness and Affection to his Friends, so was he in his Rigour and Animosity towards his Enemies. And when he was in the highest Passion, he was so far from attaining his Revenge by Dissimulation, (the low Method of Courts) that he never attempted to do any Man an ill Office, before he had first assured him what he was to expect from him. His single Misfortune was he never made choice

choice of a Noble, Generous Friend so much his Equal, that he could frankly advise him for his Honour and true Interest against the Torrent of his impetuous Passions. Then his Ascent was so quick, that it appeared rather a Flight than a Growth; so that he stood in need of Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors: Nor was he very lucky in the Choice of those Dependants, who were only intent upon growing rich themselves, not upon advising their Master, to grow good as well as great, so that through the whole Course of his Fortune he was a much wiser Man than any Friend or Servant he had.

There are two Particulars that lye heaviest upon his Memory. The first his forcing his old Master against his Will upon a War with *Spain*, at a time when the Crown was poor, and when the Nation was more inclined to a severe Inquiry, how it came to be so than to make any Provision for its Supply. And this only upon some personal Animosities (flowing from no other Fountain, than that frolick Humour to which the Prince's Court was addicted, and which suited ill with the Nature and Education of *Spain*) between him and the *Spanish* Favourite, the Duke of *Olivarez*; and not from those pretended Amours, which were afterwards father'd upon him; for tho' the Duke was naturally devoted to those Passions, when he met with any beautiful Object to entertain 'em, yet the Dutcheß of *Olivarez*, of whom was the Discourse, was then a Woman so old, of so mean a Presence; in a Word, so crooked and deform'd, that she was neither fit to raise his Appetite, nor magnifie his Revenge.

The other Particular, which drew upon him so many fatal Embarrassments, which he never was able to shake off, was his running violently into the War with *France*, and that upon a private unwarrantable Passion.

During his Embassy in *France*, he had the Ambition to fix his Thoughts upon a Lady of a very Sublime Quality, and pursued his Addresses so far,

that after the *French* King, who had attended his Sister on her Way for *England*, had left her in the Hands of the Duke to be by him conducted home, he presum'd once more to Visit that great Lady, which he thought he might do with the Privacy he desired; but his Attempt was so easily discover'd, that had he pursued his Design he had perish'd in it, of which he had only notice enough to secure himself from the Danger; swearing in the Instant, that he was resolv'd both to see and speak with that Lady in spite of all the Power of *France*. And from the time the Queen arriv'd in *England* his whole Business was to undervalue and exasperate that Nation, which extended even to an Endeavour of lessening the King's Affections towards his young Queen, who during his Life never had that Credit with his Majesty, in reference to publick Affairs, that might have diverted him from a War with *France*.

It cannot be deny'd, but from these two Wars, so imprudently undertaken, the Duke's Ruin took its Date; the Malice whereof took Rise from that sole Evil Spirit of the Time, the Venom of which contracted to that degree 'till the Nation grew satiated, and weary of the Government it self, tho' it had enjoy'd a greater Measure of Felicity under it, than any People were ever possess'd of before, and which could never be secured to 'em without it.

*Predictions  
concerning  
the Duke's  
Death.*

Several Prophecies and Predictions of the Duke's untimely Death were then in the Mouths of the People, amongst which one was built upon a better Foundation of Credit. An Officer in the King's Wardrobe at *Windſor* Castle, honest and discreet, about the Age of Fifty, whom, whilst a School-Boy, Sir *George Villiers*, Father to the Duke, who liv'd in the same Parish, had much cherish'd and oblig'd; whilst in Bed at Midnight in very good Health, perceiv'd a Person of a venerable Aspect

draw



draw near his Curtains, and with his Eyes fix'd upon him, ask'd him if he knew who he was; the poor Man, after a Repetition of the same Question, recalling to his Memory the Presence of Sir *George Villiers*, answer'd, half dead with Fear, He thought him to be that Person. He reply'd, He was in the right, and that he must go and acquaint his Son from him, that unless he did something to ingratiate himself with the People, he wou'd be suffer'd to live but a short time; after this he disappear'd, and the poor Man the next Morning consider'd all no otherwise than as a Dream. This was repeated with a more terrible Aspect the second Night, the Person telling him, unless he perform'd his Commands he shou'd expect no Peace of Mind; upon which he promis'd to obey him. The lively Representation of all to his Memory strangely perplex'd him; but considering he was a Person at such a distance from the Duke, he was willing still to persuade himself, that he had been only Dreaming. The same Person repeating his Visit the third time, and reproaching him for his Breach of Promise, he had by this gather'd Courage enough to tell him, that it was a difficult thing to gain Admissiion to the Duke, and more difficult to be credited by him, that he shou'd be look'd on either as a Malecontent, or a Mad-man, and so be sure to be undone. The Person reply'd, after a Repetition of his former Threats, That the Duke was known to be of very easie Access, that two or three Particulars he wou'd, and did tell him, and which he charg'd him never to mention to any Person, wou'd make him be credited, and so repeating his Threats he left him.

This Apparition so far confirm'd the old Man, that he repair'd to *London*, where the Court then was; and being known to Sir *Ralph Freeman*, who had marry'd a Lady nearly ally'd to the Duke, he acquainted him with enough to let him know there was

*The HISTORY of*

something extraordinary in it, without imparting to him all the Particulars. Sir *Ralph* having inform'd the Duke of what the Man desir'd, and of all he knew in the Matter, his Grace according to his usual Condescension told him, That the next Day early he was to Hunt with the King, that he wou'd land at *Lambeth* Bridge by Five in the Morning, where if the Man attended he shou'd talk with him as long as shou'd be necessary; accordingly the Man being conducted by Sir *Ralph* met the Duke, and walk'd aside in Conference with him near an Hour; Sir *Ralph* and his Servants being at such a distance, that they cou'd not learn a Word, tho' the Duke was observ'd sometimes to speak, and that in Commotion. The Man told Sir *Ralph* in his Return over the Water, that when he mention'd his Credentials, the substance of which, he said, he was to impart to no Man; the Duke swore he cou'd come to that Knowledge by none but the Devil, for that those Particulars were a Secret to all but himself, and another, who he was sure wou'd never speak of it.

He return'd from Hunting before the Morning was spent, and was shut up for the space of two or three Hours with his Mother in *Whitehal*, and when he left her his Countenance appear'd full of Trouble with a mixture of Anger; and she her self, when the News of the Duke's Murder was brought to her, seem'd to receive it without the least Surprise, and as a thing she had long foreseen. Now because the Death of this mighty Favourite gave another Turn to the Face of Affairs at Court, it will not be unnecessary to give a Prospect of the Constitution of it, after that bright Star was shot out of the Horizon.

*A Prospect  
of the Court  
after the  
Duke's  
Death.*

Sir *Thomas Coventry*, a Son of the Robe, his Father having been a Judge in the Court of Common-Pleas, was then Lord Keeper, and newly made a Baron,

Baron, upon the Removal of the Bishop of *Lincoln*: He enjoy'd this Place with an universal Reputation even to his Death; and was a Man who understood not only the whole Science and Mystery of the Law, but had a clear Insight into the whole Policy of the Government, both in Church and State, which through the Ignorance of some well-meaning Men justled each the other too much.

He delivered himself plainly without much Ornament of Elocution, so that tho' he used very frankly to deny, yet it was with so gentle obliging a manner, and he informed the Persons whom he cou'd not satisfy with so much Condescension, that few departed from him with ill Wishes, or an ill Will.

But this happy Temper rather preserv'd him from many Enemies, than furnish'd him with any hearty Friends; and therefore 'tis no wonder he liv'd within himself, without venturing to oppose the growing Mischiefs, which he knew he had no Power to restrain; in a Word, his Security consisted in his having but a little Credit with the King; and he dy'd at a time when a Wise Man wou'd have been glad to have finish'd his Course, and which indeed crown'd his other Felicities in this World.

Sir *Richard Weston* had been made Lord High-Treasurer some Months before the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, but had in that short time so much disoblig'd him, that many who were privy to the Duke's most secret Purposes believ'd, tho' he had been advanc'd by him, he was establish'd by his Death. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, bred up some Years in the Study of the Law, and at an Age fit for Observations and Reflections, the Spring of Experience, sent into Foreign Parts; after which he liv'd in Court with an Awe agreeable to the Modesty of the Age, when Men were seen sometime before they were known, and well known



before they were advanc'd, or durst pretend to it. Tho' he was not Superior to all others in the Affection or Resignation of his Master, yet, as a wise and able Servant, he had a full share in his Esteem; nor was any so much above him, as to be able by his Power with the King to lessen his Affection towards him, so that he might have found much Ease and Delight in his Post, if he cou'd have confin'd himself to his own Province. But through a Malignity in his Stars he was more exact in Prying into others Mens Offices, than in the Discharge of his own; that which first expos'd him to the Jealousie of the Publick was the Suspicion of his Religion, his Wife and all his Daughters being profess'd Papists; and tho' he and his Sons went sometimes to Church, he was never thought to be Zealous for it; for his most familiar Conversation was with those of the *Roman* Persuasion, and yet he never was in any Credit with that Party, who were the only People in the Kingdom who did not take him to be of their Profession.

He had not long enjoy'd his Office before he lost the Reputation of a Stout, Bold, Magnanimous Man, which in worse Times he had ever been reputed to be; and after all the King's Bounties and Honours conferr'd upon him, after vast sums of Money gotten, and rather consum'd than enjoy'd, he dy'd unlamented by any, leaving a numerous Family behind him, who were in a short time worn out, and yet out-liv'd the Fortune he had left 'em.

*The Earl of  
Manche-  
ster, Lord  
Privy-Seal.*

The next great Officer of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who from Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, had before King *James* his Death been by the Duke of *Buckingham's* Favour advanc'd to the Office of Lord High-Treasurer of *England*; but in less than a Year after it, was, by the recalling that Favour, reduc'd to the almost empty Title of President of the Council; and to sweeten the Sense of the

the Dishonour, created Viscount *Mandevile*. This Diminution he bore as a Man of his Wife and Excellent Temper ought, and quickly regain'd so much Favour, that he was made Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal, which in the midst of many Removes and Degradations he enjoy'd to his Death.

His Honours had grown quicker upon him than his Fortunes, which made him in his old Age too sollicitous to advance the latter; whereby he made himself less capable of serving the Publick, and expos'd himself to many Reproaches and Inconveniences. But his Virtues so far out-weigh'd his Infirmities, that he preserv'd to his Death a good Reputation in general with the People, being look'd on full of Zeal for the Religion by Law establish'd, and of Fidelity to the King. He liv'd 'till he was near Eighty Years of Age, in a continued Vigour of Mind, and dy'd luckily upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, when no Man cou'd promise any Security to himself, either from his Religion or Wisdom.

The next was the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord President of the Council, who was generally thought to be a proud Man, and seem'd to live as in another Nation, his House being the common Resort of Strangers, or those who affected to look like such. He sometimes went to Court, because There only was a greater Man than himself, and went but seldom because There was a Man greater than himself. He had a good Fortune by Inheritance, but a greater by his Wife, and yet his Expences always exceeded his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and a great Antiquary, tho' he was almost illiterate as to all Parts of Learning, and thought no History so considerable as what concern'd his own Family. He was thought rather to have no Concern for Religion in general, than to incline to this or that Party; and as little Affection for the Nation, from

*The Earl  
of Arundel.*

from whence he withdrew as soon as the Repose thereof began to be disturb'd, and died in *Italy* under that doubtful Character of Religion in which he had lived.

The Earl of  
Pembroke.

*William* Earl of *Pembroke* was a Man of another Frame, Fame, and Reputation, being the most generally belov'd of any Man of that Age; he was Master of a great Fortune, which yet serv'd not his Expence, that being limited by nothing but his generous Mind, and Occasions to employ it nobly.

After the Earl of *Sommerſet*'s foul Fall he was made Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, more for the Court's ſake than his own. He was a great Lover of his Country, and of Religion and Juſtice, which he believ'd to be the only Support of it, his Friendſhip and Converſation lying only among Men of thoſe Principles. Sure never any Man brought a Temper more adapted to the Soil of the Court, or better Qualities to purifie the Air of it; yet not to flatter his Memory, he had an allay of Vice and Infirmities in too exorbitant a proportion. He was immoderately given up to Women; but in that like- wiſe he continued ſo much himſelf, that he was not ſo far transported with outward Allurements, as charm'd with the Beauties of the Mind. About King *James*'s Death, or preſently after, he was made Lord Stew- ard, and the Chamberlain's Staff was deliver'd to his Brother the Earl of *Montgomery*. He dy'd of an Apoplexy after a full and chearful Supper, exceed- ingly lamented by Men of all Qualities, and left many of his Servants and Dependants Maſters of good Eſtates, which they entirely ow'd to his Bounty.

Philip Earl  
of Mont-  
gomery.

The Earl of *Montgomery*, now Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Dorſet* were likewiſe of the Privy Council; Men of very different Qualifications. The former at King *James*'s Entrance, being ſcarce of Age, had the good Fortune by the Comelineſs of his



his Person, and indefatigable Application in Hunting, to be the first who attracted the Eyes of that Monarch towards him; before a Year or two were elaps'd he was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Earl of *Montgomery*. He pretended to nothing more than a Judgment in Dogs and Horses, and to be believ'd honest and generous, which rais'd him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not enjoy'd his Master's Favour many Years, before the King's Eyes were fix'd on a new Court-Comet, *Robert Carr* a *Scotchman*; and the Earl without the least Murmur left all Doors open for his Admittance, which so highly oblig'd the King that he still gave him the second Place in his Affection, and recommended him to his Son at his Death, as a Man honest and faithful; tho' it will appear in the Sequel, that he had not Ballast sufficient to endure a Storm.

The other was in every respect quite another Robert Man, of Person beautiful, vigorous and graceful, of *Earl of Dorset*. Parts facetious, strong and sublime. He was too complying to condemn or resist the fashionable Vices of the Age, and therefore gave both his Person and Parts full scope without any restraint. The good general Reputation he had acquired, notwithstanding his Defects, inclin'd King *James* to call him to his Privy Council before his Death. And had he not given too much way to his natural Constitution and Prosperity, nor been wrung by an uneasie Fortune, he had questionless prov'd an excellent Man for Business; for he had a quick discerning Spirit, a generous obliging Temper, and was withal of a most entire Fidelity to the Crown.

There were two others of great Authority in the Council, because much esteemed in the Court, being as accomplish'd Courtiers as all the Palaces in *Europe* cou'd afford. These were the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Holland*, both acquainted with the Affairs of

Earl of  
Carlisle.

of the Kingdom, and of more Experience in those abroad, than any other who sat then at the Board.

The former came in as a Gentleman with King *James*; and being well qualified by his Breeding in *France*, and great Study in human Learning, he worked himself into a particular Interest with his Master, and a greater Esteem with the whole *English* Nation, than any other of this Countrymen; so that being made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Viscount *Doncaster*, he obtained through his Master's Means the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny*, and with her a fair Fortune in Land, which his Son by that Lady long lived to enjoy.

He rose afterwards to the other Advantages of the Court, was made Groom of the Stool, an Earl, and Knight. He maintained rather a fair Intelligence than any Friendship with the other Favourites, having Credit enough with the King to secure his own Interest, and he took no Care for that of other Men. He made no Scruple of running in Debt, and borrowing all he could for the Support of his Lustre. For he was a Man of prodigious Expence in his own Person, both for Cloaths and Diet, being indeed an Original of those Inventions, which others did no more than copy. He died with the Reputation of a fine Gentleman, and after having merrily spent above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, which by Computation he had attained from the Crown, he died to all Appearance in as much Tranquillity of Mind, as a Man of a more severe Life and Virtue; nor left a House or Acre of Land behind him to be remember'd by.

The Earl of *Holland*, who was a younger Son of a noble House, after some time spent in *France*, applied himself to the Wars in *Holland*, intending to follow that Profession; but coming, after two or three Campaigns, in the Leisure of the Winter, to visit his Friends in *England*, and the Court, he

in

in a short time grew very acceptable to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by whose Means, and that of a lovely winning Presence, he found an easie Admission into the Court, and the King's Grace, which made him quit all farther Thoughts of a Soldier's Life. Tho' his Friendship was more entire to the Earl of *Carlisle*, he took all the Care he could to endear himself to the Duke, whose Creature he desired to be esteemed, tho' the Earl of *Carlisle*'s Friend; and in this he prospered so well, that the King could not be more in haste to advance the Duke, than the Duke was to promote him. He first prefer'd him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom amongst other things he had the Seat and Mannor of *Kensington*, of which he was not long after created Baron; and being in Continuance of the Duke's Care and Confidence in him, made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*, he was next made Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and a Privy-Counsellor; sent first Embassador into *France* to treat the Marriage with the Queen, or rather to work privately about it before he was Embassador.

In this Posture did the Duke leave him when he was kill'd; and having the Advantage of the Queen's Favour, he was at continual Variance with the Earl of *Portland*, Lord Treasurer, and whoever else were not for aggrandizing her Authority. In this Flourish he continued whilst the Weather was fair, but soon as the Storm arose he fell from that Honour he was once thought to be Master of, into a Condition which we shall hereafter have too much Occasion to enlarge upon.

The two Secretaries of State, (who were not in those Days Officers of that Consequence they now are) were Sir *John Coke*, and Sir *Dudly Carleton*. The first of these was of a narrow Education, but a narrower Soul. After a long Continuance in the

The two  
Secretaries  
of State,  
Sir John  
Coke, and  
Sir Dudley  
Carleton.

Uni-



University of *Cambridge*, and the Condition of a private Gentleman in the Country, he was at 50 Years of Age called to a painful Employment in the Navy-Office, upon the Reputation of his Industry and Diligence; and from thence removed to be Master of Requests, and Secretary of State, in which Office he continued to a very great Age. His grand Perfection was Industry, and his eminent Infirmary, Covetousness. He was well acquainted with the State and Affairs of *England*, but was a perfect Stranger to all foreign Transactions, and the common Interest of Christendom.

Of a quite contrary Nature and Education was his Associate, Sir *Dudly Carleton*, who understood all foreign Affairs very well, but was a Stranger to the Constitution of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. From *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, where he was bred up, being a Student of the Foundation, he went into *France*, and having been Secretary to Sir *Harry Nevil*, the Ambassador there, he was sent Ambassador to *Venice*, from whence he no sooner returned, but he went Ambassador into *Holland*; where, whilst the Synod was assembled at *Dort*, to prevent those uncharitable Disputations, their Meeting rather promoted, he sate not so equal a Spectator as he ought to have been, but, as far as he could, discountenanced the Party that was most Learned, and studied to raise the Credit and Authority of the other.

He was sent once more Extraordinary Ambassador thither, and was the last admitted to vote under that Character in the Assembly of the States. Immediately upon his Return from thence he was made a Privy-Counsellor. The last Piece of Workmanship the Duke of *Buckingham* lived to finish, was the making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when he had scarce any visible Estate to support that Honour.

The

The Duke, who had observed that the Channel, <sup>The Rise of Archbishop Laud.</sup> in which the Church-Preferments had formerly run, had been subject to some Corruptions, had recommended the Management of that Affair to Dr. *Laud*, at that time Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and of the Privy-Council. A Trust continued to him after the Duke's Death, not more to the Interest and Honour of the Church, than his own Prejudice: Who too secure in a good Conscience thought the Office of the greatest Minister in Court (for he was shortly after translated to the See of *Canterbury*) might be discharged without any Submission to the Arts and Subtleties of it, which exposed him to such a Torrent of Adversity, as we shall have too much Occasion to lament in the succeeding Discourse, in which we shall more pertinently enlarge upon his singular Abilities, and immense Virtue.

To these and more (too many more) honourable Persons, who were at that time of the Privy-Council, other very notable Men, (who will be remember'd each in his proper Place) were shortly added: The greater Part of whom being wholly taken up in the Improvement of their private Fortunes (in which they did not abound) or the Gratification of their Pleasures, which they earnestly affected, had no farther Care of the Publick, than that no Disturbance might break in upon it in their own Days; so that here at least they all concurred (and indeed in nothing else) in their unanimous Advice to the King, "To put the quickest Period he could to the expensive War against the two Crowns. And his Majesty following their Advice, a Peace was concluded with both upon better Terms than could <sup>A Peace with the two Crowns.</sup> reasonably have been expected. And after the Dissolution of this third Parliament, which proceeded from some unhappy Assaults it made upon the Prerogative, the Kingdom enjoy'd a Composure and Tranquillity for ten Years, greater than any Nation had

had ever enjoyed before; and that during the bloody War hastily entered into between the two Crowns, and the universal Conflagration, that from the *Swedish* Invasion spread like a Deluge over the whole Empire. And now we are returned to the Thread of our Discourse, which has been interrupted by a Digression longer than was at first intended.

*The ill Effects of the Proclamation issued out at the Dissolution of the second Parliament.*

The Proclamation mention'd before, produced two ill Effects of very different Natures, it afflicted many good Men (who otherwise were enough scandalized at that Spirit in the House which had provok'd the King) so far, that it laid their Ears open to the Insinuations of those, who made it their Business to infuse an ill Opinion into Men, that by it the King declared, he really intended we should have no more Parliaments, (for so it was maliciously interpreted) and the Danger of such an Inquisition being by this Notion removed, ill Men were not only encouraged to all Licence, but even those who had no Propensity to Ill, imagining themselves above the Reach of ordinary Justice learned by Degrees to look on that as no Fault, which was like to find no Punishment. Privisional Acts of State were formed to supply Defect of Laws; so Tonnage and Poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by Parliament, were collected upon Merchandize by Order of the Board; Antiquated Laws revived, and with Rigour executed, in which the Subject learned, how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strictly detaining what was his, to set the King as strictly upon enquiring what was his own.

The Law of Knighthood, which, tho' founded in Right, was in the Method of it's Execution very grievous; the Laws of the Forrest, by Virtue of which not only great Fines were imposed, but yearly Rents designed, and like to have been settled by way of Contract; and lastly, for an everlasting Supply upon all Occasions, a Writ directed in Form of Law,



Law to the Sheriff of every County in *England*, "To  
 "send a Ship amply provided for the King's Service;  
 and with it an Instruction, "That instead of a Ship  
 "such a Sum of Mony should be levied upon each  
 "County; with Directions, "How those that were  
 "refractory should be proceeded against; from  
 whence that Tax was called Ship-mony, which at  
 the End of four Years was (upon Mr. *Hambden's*  
 Refusal to pay twenty or thirty Shillings as his Share)  
 asserted by the major Part of the Judges, upon a  
 solemn Argument discuss'd before 'em, to be a Tax  
 lawfully imposed, were not the only unjust, scan-  
 dalous, and ridiculous Projects at that time set on  
 Foot.

And here the Use the Judges were put to in  
 this, and like Acts of Power, redound much to the  
 Mischief and Damage of the Crown and State,  
 in whose Integrity and Innocence the Dignity of the  
 Laws mainly resided; the Mysteries of which, when  
 they had measured by the Standard of what they  
 called General Reason, and explained by the Wis-  
 dom of State, they justly deserved that Irreverence  
 and Scorn, with which the House of Peers after-  
 wards used 'em. If they had maintained the Sim-  
 plicity of their Ancestors in Severity, and strictly  
 defending the Laws, other Men had follow'd the  
 Modesty of theirs, in humbly and dutiful obeying  
 them. And here it is very observable that in former  
 times, when the Prerogative was swoln up to the  
 highest Pitch, never any Court of Law, seldom any  
 Judge or Lawyer of Reputation was called upon to assist  
 in an Act of Power, the Crown well knowing of what  
 Consequence it was to preserve those in the Respect  
 and Veneration of the People, who were with-held  
 from any Invasion of the Prerogative, tho' it some-  
 times might make Sallies upon 'em, whilst they con-  
 sidered the Judges as the Asylum for their Liber-  
 ties and Security.

D

These

These Errors (as Errors they proved in the Success) were not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit and Over-forwardness of the Lawyers themselves. There were two of that Profession, by whose several, and distinct Constitutions, those Mischiefs were first introduced, Mr. *Noy* Attorney-General, and Sir *John Finch* first Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

*Noy, Attorney-General.*

The first was, by the great Industry and Importunity from Court, perswaded to be made Attorney-General, a Place for which all other Men laboured. The Court made a greater Impression upon his Mind than Manners; he affected a Morosity, which render'd him unapt to flatter other Men, but made him the most liable to be flatter'd himself that can be imagined; by which means the great Persons, who then sat at the Helm, wrought upon him by Degrees to be an Instrument in all their Designs; for whilst they extolled his Judgment, and admired his Parts, he thought he could not give the World a greater Proof of 'em, how much he excelled other Men in the Knowledge of the Law, than by maintaining that to be Law, which all other Men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious abominable Project of Soap, and drew up, and prepared with his own Hand the Writ for Ship-mony; both which remain to Posterity the lasting Monuments of his Fame.

*Sir John Finch.*

Sir *John Finch* had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. He had a good Stock of Wit and natural Parts, but a small Knowledge in the Profession he embraced, and by which he was to grow. He took up Ship-mony where Mr. *Noy* left it, and whilst he was a Judge, carried it up to that Hight, from whence he had like to have broken his own Neck. To which must be added, a Declaration he made afterwards when he was Lord

Lord Keeper, upon a Demurrer put into a Bill, founded upon no other Equity than an Order of Council, "That whilst he fate in that Post no Man should presume to dispute those Orders, but that the Wisdom of that Board was, and should be Ground enough for him to make a Decree in Chancery.

Now after all this (and I hope I am not guilty of much Flattery in this Inquisition) I must be so just; as to say, that during the whole time of these Pressures, I mean from the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year to the beginning of this, which was above twelve Years, all his Majesties Dominions enjoy'd a greater Measure of Felicity, and that to the Envy of all other Parts of Christendom, than any People in any Age for so long a Time have been blest withal.

*The Felicity of the times before the long Parliament.*

In this Comparifon I am not ungrateful to the Happy Times under Queen Elizabeth, and King James. The Doubts, Hazards, and Perplexities upon a total Change in Religion during the former, some confident Attempts upon a farther Alteration by some who thought the Reformation ought to be extended farther, and the Anxiety of a long continued War, some domestick Starts into Rebellion, often into Treason, besides the Blemish of an unparalleled Act of Blood, upon a Neighbour, Queen, and Ally, together with the Fear and Apprehension of what was to come from an unknown, at least unacknowledged Successor, eclips'd much of that Prosperity then, which now shines so bright in History. And for that under King James, the Mixture of a stranger Nation, formerly upon no good Terms with this, the Subjection to a stranger Prince, whose Nature and Disposition was not known; the Discovery of a Treason, the most prodigious ever had been attempted; the Absence of the Prince in Spain, and the Fear lest his Highness should not be

*Compared with Queen Elizabeth's Reign.*

*And King James's.*



married to the Infanta, very much imbibited the Calm and Tranquillity of those Days. But the Happiness of the Times we now mention, were improved by the Rage and Fury of Arms, that had intangled every other State; and the Kingdoms we now lament, looked upon as the Garden of the World; the Court in great Plenty, or rather Excess, and Luxury; the Country rich, and in a full Enjoyment of its own Wealth; the Church flourishing with Learned and Extraordinary Men; the Protestant Religion more advanced against the Church of *Rome*, than it had been from the Reformation; Trade improved to that Degree, that we were become the general Exchange of Christendom; the Royal Navy much more formidable at Sea, than in former times; the King's Reputation in foreign Courts greater than any of his Progenitors; for those severe Courses, which perhaps made him less lov'd at home, made him more fear'd abroad; and lastly, for a Perfection of all these Blessings, they were enjoyed by, and under the Protection of a Prince, the mildest, most exemplary in Piety, Chastity, Sobriety, and Mercy, that ever any Nation was blessed withal. And yet all this could but enable, not compel us to be happy. There was a strange want of Understanding in most, and Perverseness of it in the rest. The Court abounded in Excess, Idleness, and Luxury; the Country was swoln with Pride, Mutiny, and Discontent; the Growth of Knowledge and Learning became disrelished, for the Infirmities of some Learned Men; the Increase of Grace and Favour upon the Church more resented, than the Increase of Piety and Devotion in it, which was altogether as visible, observed or taken Notice of; and the Indiscretion of one Sermon at *Whitehal* was more noised abroad, than the Wisdom, Sobriety, and Devotion of a hundred.

When

When the King found himself furrounded with all that Tranquillity mentioned before, he resolved to make a Progress into, and be solemnly crown'd in his Kingdom of *Scotland*; which he had never seen from the time he first left it, when he was about two Years old. The whole Progress was perform'd with the greatest Magnificence imaginable. All Persons of Quality and Condition, whose Seats border'd upon the Northern Road, receiv'd the Nobility and Attendance of the Court, with an Hospitality that became 'em. And when the King and his Retinue pass'd through *Nottinghamshire*, they were receiv'd and entertain'd by the Earl of *Newcastle* in so magnificent a Manner, as had scarce ever been known before in *England*, and would still be thought prodigious, had not the same noble Person, within a Year or two afterwards, entertain'd the King and Queen in a more stupendious Manner.

Soon as the King enter'd *Scotland*, all his *English* Officers and Servants yielded up their Attendance to those of that Nation; all the Tables of the House were laid down by them, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who treated the *English* with all the Freedom and Courtesie imaginable. The King appeared in no less Pomp at *Edenborough* than at *Whitehal*; his Coronation pass'd with all the Solemnity and Evidence of publick Joy imaginable: The Parliament then held, presented the Acts prepared for 'em with all Demonstrations of Duty; in which were some Laws restraining the almost unlimited Power of the Nobility, a thing they bore very heavily, tho' at that time little Notice was taken of it; the King being absolutely directed in all the Affairs of that Nation by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was at least believ'd then to have the greatest Interest in that Kingdom, and of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter.

*The Seeds  
of the suc-  
ceeding  
Commoti-  
ons then  
sown.*

The King was highly pleas'd with his Reception there; tho' the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility and Gentry, occasioned by the Luxury and vast Expence, which abounded in all respects, and the Wants and Temptations to which they were thereby reduc'd, very much contributed to the kindling that Fire, which in a little while after broke out into so terrible a Combustion.

His Majesty was ever a most nice Observer of all Decency in his Devotion, and a great Friend to the Ceremonies of the Church; believing it as establish'd in *England*, to be instituted nearest to the Practice of the Apostles, of any Church in the World. Now tho' in *Scotland* they had Bishops in Name, the whole Jurisdiction, and the Bishops themselves, were in the main subject to an Assembly that was entirely Presbyterian: They had no Form of Religion in Practice, no Liturgy in any of the Cathedral Churches throughout the Kingdom, the King's Chappel at *Holy-rood* excepted, nor the least Appearance of any Beauty of Holiness; for which reason his Majesty propos'd nothing more to himself, than the uniting his Three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship and Publick Devotion; and there is great ground to believe, that in this Journey into *Scotland* he carry'd with him the Resolution of finishing that important Business in the Church. For Dr. *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*, attended him throughout his whole Journey, being no less desirous to see it accomplish'd than the King himself; Preach'd in the Royal Chappel of *Edenborough*, (a thing scarce any *English* Man had ever done before in the King's Presence) and chiefly upon the Benefit of Conformity, and reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all imaginable Signs of Approbation and Applause. And many wise Men were then and still are of Opinion, that if the King had then propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, it had been



been receiv'd without any Opposition; but upon mature Deliberation, the King thought it not a proper Season to promote that Affair.

The Bishop of *London* was extremely concern'd at this Delay, and to find those Men the Instruments in it, who seem'd to him as earnest for the Expedition, as zealous for the thing it self, and who must of necessity suffer by deferring it. But the King, who was better acquainted with the ill Humour and Practices amongst the great Men of the Kingdom than the Bishop was, comply'd with what was offer'd for a little Delay in the Execution. Besides, he had naturally a Love for the *Scotch* Nation, and was as careful as any Man that their Liberties and Privileges might not be invaded by the *English*, and therefore the Objection, "That it would look like an Imposition from *England*, if a Form settled by Act of Parliament at *Westminster* should be forc'd upon 'em in *Scotland*, made a deep Impression in his Majesty.

*Edenborough*, tho' the Metropolis of the Kingdom, was but a Burrough-Town within the Diocess of *St. Andrews*, but govern'd in all Church Affairs by the Preachers of the Town, the most turbulent and seditious Instruments of Confusion throughout the whole Kingdom; wherefore the King, that he might leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Esteem for the Church, tho' it was not yet ripe for the good Order he intended it, by the Approbation and Consent of the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, erected it into a Bishoprick, plac'd a very eminent Scholar to be the first Bishop in that new City, and another Person of good Fame and Learning he made the first Dean of his new Cathedral, settling a competent Revenue upon both, not much to the Satisfaction of the People in general, who thought they had too many Bishops before, who had very little Interest in the Affections of that Na-

*Edenborough erected into a Bishoprick by the King.*

And some  
Bishops  
preferr'd to  
Secular  
Offices.

tion, and less Authority over it. To vindicate 'em from that Contempt, the King made the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* Chancellor of the Kingdom, being the first Church-man in that Office since the Reformation, and four or five other Bishops Privy-Counsellors, or Lords of the Session. But this untimely Accumulation of so many Honours upon them, expos'd 'em to the universal Envy of the whole Nobility; for many of 'em, for want of Temper or Breeding, did not behave themselves in their Debates with that Decency towards the greatest Men of the Kingdom, as was reasonably expected from 'em; so that instead of bringing any Advantage to the Church, it produced a more general Prejudice to it.

The Death  
of Arch-  
Bishop Ab-  
bot, 1633.  
His Chara-  
cter.

Towards the End of *August*, 1633, the King return'd to *Greenwich*, where the Queen kept her Court; and the first thing of moment that happened after his Return, was the Death of *Abbot*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had govern'd that See too many Years for the Interest of the Church. From being Head of one of the poorest Colleges in *Oxford*, he was, upon the Earl of *Dunbar's* Recommendation to King *James*, preferr'd to the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and presently after to *London*, and that before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate in any Parish-Church in *England*, or Dean or Prebend in any Cathedral. He was scarce fix'd in the Diocess of *London* before he was promoted to *Canterbury*, upon the never enough lamented Death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that worthy Prelate, who understood the Church excellently, encourag'd Men of the greatest Learning, subdued in a great measure that unruly Spirit of the Non-Conformists, and if he had lived longer would quickly have extinguish'd that Fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*: Or if Bishop *Andrews*, or *Overal*, or any other who understood and loved the Church, had suc-

succeeded him, that Infection had easily been kept out, which cou'd not afterwards be so easily expelled. But *Abbot* brought none of that Antidote with him, having himself made but a very slender Progress in the ancient and solid Study of Divinity; he adhered solely to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and for this sake had a better Opinion of the Discipline than became him. If Men had Sense enough to forbear railing at the Hierarchy in Publick, let their private Practice and Opinions be what they would, they were not only safe but acceptable to him. And tho' many other Bishops plainly discovered the Prejudice done to Religion by his Defects and Remissness, and prevented it as much as they cou'd in their own Diocesses; and tho' Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of *London*, had apply'd all the Remedies he cou'd to those Distempers, yet that Temper in the Arch-Bishop, whose House was always open to the Ring-leaders of that factious Party, and who licens'd their most pernicious Writings, left his Successor a very hard Task to reform a Church so long neglected, and which had been filled by so many weak and wilful Churchmen.

*Abbot* being dead, the King took very little time to consider of a Successor, but the next time the Bishop of *London* came to visit him, (for he had been longer on his Way home from *Scotland* than the King) his Majesty receiv'd him chearfully, with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of Canterbury you are very welcome.* *Bishop Laud succeeds him.*

This great Prelate had before been recommended to the King by the Duke of *Buckingham*, as the properest Man to be trusted in collating all Ecclesiastical Preferments, so that his Advancement to *Canterbury* had been long foreseen, nor was it attended with any Increase of Envy or Disgust. *His Character.*

He was a Man of Exemplary Parts and Virtues, which yet were allay'd with some unpopular natural Infirmities.



Infirmities; the chief of which (beside a hasty forward way of Expression) was, that he believ'd an Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, was a sufficient Guard to conduct a Man through the World, be his Company what it would: And sure no Man ever had a more plentiful Supply of that Provision. From a Scholar in *St. John's College* in *Oxford* he became Fellow, and then President. He had been persecuted all along by the *Calvinian* Faction, who according to an old Custom among 'em call every Man they don't love, *Papist*; under which senseless Appellation they rais'd him many Troubles and Vexations, and so far suppress'd him, that the Vigour of his Age was past, before he had any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College; the worst endow'd at that time of any in the University.

He retain'd, it may be, when he came into Authority, too sharp a Memory of those by whom he had been so uncharitably persecuted; and I fear was but too guilty himself of the same Passion he complain'd of in his Adversaries, that as they accused him of Popery, for maintaining some Doctrinal Points they disliked, so he look'd on some Persons as Enemies to the Discipline of the Church, because they agreed with *Calvin* in some Points of Doctrine; tho' they at the same time abhorred his Discipline, loved the Government of the Church, and prayed for the Peace of it equal with any in the Nation, as appeared afterwards in their Sufferings with it, and for it. As soon as ever he came into Power, he did all he could to hinder the Progress of that Faction, but having a Superior in the Church, who could slacken the Reins according to his own Humour and Indiscretion, he had not Power to go through that difficult Reformation as effectually as he desired; but being at length Primate himself, he thought it his Duty to apply speedy and seasonable Reme-

Remedies to those Diseases, which he saw would increase daily.

His first care, after his Promotion to *Canterbury*, was, that the Place from whence he was removed might be filled with a Man careful to pluck up those Weeds, which the *London* Soil was too apt to nourish; and so prevailed with the King to make his old Friend and Fellow-Collegiate, Dr. *Juxton*, Bishop of *London*.

Tho' the Nation in general bore no ill Will to the Church, either in the Point of Doctrine or Discipline, yet were they jealous that Popery was not sufficiently discouraged, and were easily persuaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which they call'd Innovation, was admitted purely to please the *Papists*. The Arch-Bishop had all his Life-time vigorously opposed *Calvin's* Doctrine, and thereupon, for want of another Name, (for *Arminius* was hardly known, or his Opinions heard of) his Enemies called him *Papist*. He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and being conscious to himself that he proposed nothing in all his Actions and Designs, but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest Ways of attaining it. If the Faults and Vices deserved to be inquired into, be the Persons who they would that had committed them, they were sure to find no Favour or Exemption from him. He resolved to make the Discipline of the Church felt, as well as spoken of, and applied it, without any respect of Persons, as much to the greatest, as meanest Offenders.

There were three Persons most notorious for their avowed Malice to the Government of the Church, which in their several Writings they had published to corrupt the People; one of 'em was a Divine, the other a common Lawyer, and the third a Doctor of Physick; and tho' neither of 'em had any Interest or Esteem with the worthy Part of their  
several

several Professions, yet when they were all sentenced, and exposed like common Rogues upon Scaffolds, to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with red hot Irons, Men begun no longer to consider their Manners, but the Men, and each Profession imagined their Education, Degrees, and Quality, had raised 'em above the reach of such infamous Judgments, and treasured up Wrath for the time to come.

The Remissness of *Abbot* and others gave Birth to a Negligence, which no doubt offended very many pious Men. The People were grown so careless of the Churches, and the Parsons of the Chancels, that instead of beautifying or adorning them, they were kept with more Indecency than they would willingly allow in the ordinary Offices of their own Houses; and the Sacraments themselves were suffered to be administred where the People had most mind to receive 'em. This prophane Liberty the Arch-Bishop resolved to reform with all speed, requiring the other Bishops to join with him in so good a Work. Yet I know not how the Prosecution of it was managed so unluckily, that the Enemies of the Church took Advantage by it, as soon as they had an Opportunity of making the worst use of it.

The Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had been formerly Lord Keeper of the great Seal, was since his Disgrace at Court grown very popular; and having several Faults objected to him, and being daily threatened to be called to an Account, he thought it safe to shift the Scene, and be brought upon the Stage for opposing those Innovations (as he termed 'em) in Religion. It was an unhappy Word, and betrayed a great many honest well-meaning Men into Apprehensions, prejudicial to the King and the Church. Whereupon he publish'd a Book so learned, close and solid, that he gained Reputation enough by it, to be able to do Hurt: He us'd all the

Wit,



Wit, and all the Malice he was Master of, to insinuate into the People a Jealousie of these Agitations, as if they aim'd at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a Name; and he endeavoured to persuade the World, that the Arch-Bishop was his declared Enemy, for that he had been always against his being preferred to any Government in the Church, being well acquainted with his hot and hasty Spirit.

Tho' this Piece was answered by other Books, which to Men of unbiaſſed Judgments fully vindicated those Proceedings in the Church, yet the Authors of 'em were taken Notice of with great Insolence and Asperity, in attempting the Defence of all things the Generality of the People were displeased with. And from hence rose a Schism among the Bishops themselves, and a deal of Uncharitableness among the inferior and moderate Clergy towards one another.

The Arch-Bishop had not been long in that Post, when the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High-Treasurer of *England*, made another great Alteration in the Court, without much Grief to the Arch-Bishop, who was thereby rid of an Enemy, and made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury and Revenue; which engaged him in Civil Business, and Affairs of State, wherein he had but small Experience, and which he had hitherto declined. But being now engaged in it by his Trust, he applied himself with his usual Heat and Earnestness to it, making it his main Care to advance, and improve the Revenue, and so gave Ear to all Informations and Propositions of that Kind, which often mis-led him to think better of some Projects than they deserved, and made him countenance something too much the Commission concerning Depopulation, which was very troublesom and expensive to the People, and was likewise thrown upon his Account.

The

*The Bishop  
of London  
made Lord  
Treasurer.*

The Treasurer is the most Beneficial Office in the Kingdom, and whilst the Eyes of all Men were at a Gaze who should have it, the greatest of the Nobility looking upon it as a Prize due to one of them, the Staff was on a suddain put into the Hands of the Bishop of *London*. This inflamed more Men than were displeased before, and most unjustly inclined 'em not only to the Arch-Bishop (who was the known Builder of this new Fabrick) but to the Church it self, which they began to apprehend as a Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices, there being more at Hand of that Robe, who had Ambition enough to expect the rest.

However the Arch-Bishop himself was highly pleased with what was done, and never remitted any thing of his Severity towards Men of all Conditions, nor the Sharpness of his Language, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without Passion, nor suffer himself to be contradicted in Debate, which Imperfection exposed him too much to those, who wished him not well, especially the Lord *Cottington*, who would lead him into a Mistake, drive him into Choler, and then expose him; and this he chose most to do in the King's Presence, and then he would dine with him the next Day.

The King had a great Mind to make a Park for Red as well as Fallow Deer, between *Hampton-Court* and *Richmond*, where he had large Waits of his own, but as some Parishes had Commons in those Waits, so several Gentlemen and Farmers had fair Houses, and good Farms intermingled with 'em, which his Majesty was willing to purchase, and that upon higher Terms than they could be sold for to any Body else. The major Part of the Proprietors were in a short time prevailed with, but many very obstinately refused; and a Gentleman who had the best Estate, with a convenient House and Gardens, would

would by no Means comply. The Bishop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the first entring upon it very much opposed the Design, especially the Lord *Cottington*, who was more solicited by the Country-People, endeavoured all he could to divert his Majesty from it, and put all the Delays he could well do in the Bargains that were to be made, 'till he made the King angry with him, who told him, "He was resolved upon it, for he had ordered Brick to be burnt, and Part of the Wall to be built upon his own Land; upon which the Chancellor thought it prudent to acquiesce.

The Thing made a great Noise as well among those who were not concerned, as those that were; and the Arch-Bishop meeting with it, went and spoke with the King about it, who gave him such an Answer, that he thought his Majesty rather not sufficiently inform'd of the Inconveniencies of the Thing, than positively resolved to persist in it. Whereupon one Day, taking the Lord *Cottington* aside, he told him with his usual Heat, "He should do very well to advise the King against a Resolution, in which his Honour and Justice was like to suffer. *Cottington* replied very gravely, "He thought the King very much in the right, and approved of his Resolution, for the Place lay convenient for his Winter-Exercise, and that no Body ought to dissuade him from it. The Arch-Bishop upon this flew into a great Passion, and told him, "Such Men as he would ruin the King in the Affections of his People. *Cottington* glad to see him so soon hot, resolved to inflame him more, and replied, "That he did not know but they who hindered the King from pursuing his Resolutions, might be guilty of High-Treason, since it must proceed from a Disaffection to his Person. The other asked him in great Anger, "Who taught him  
"that



“that Doctrine? He said with the same Calmness, “They who did not wish the King’s Health, did “not love him, and since his Health was preserved “by his Recreations, they who went about to hinder ‘em, were, for ought he knew, guilty of the “highest Crimes. Upon this the Arch-Bishop left him in great Rage, and either presently, or upon the first Opportunity, recounted to the King the Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, bitterly inveigh’d against him and his Doctrine, and besought his Majesty, that his Counsel might not prevail with him.

The King said no more, but “My Lord, you “are deceived; *Cottington* is too hard for you. He “has not only dissuaded me from this Business, but “obstructed the Work by not doing his Duty according to my Commands; you see how unreasonably “you are transported by your Passion. By this he saw how much he had been abused, and resented it accordingly.

Whatever was the Reason of it, this Excellent Man, from the time of his Promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, or rather from that of his being Commissioner of the Treasury, extremely provoked, or suffer’d the Envy, Reproach, and Malice of Men of all Qualities and Conditions; of all which tho’ he was very sensible, yet did he not consider it enough, believing the Government so strongly built, that nothing could shake it from within or without, nor any thing less than a general Confusion of Law and Gospel hurt him, in which he was right; but then he did not foresee how easily that Confusion might be, and was afterwards brought about. And with this general Observation of the outward Prosperity, and the inward Propensity of the People to Murmur and Unquietness, we conclude this First Book.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
ABRIDG'D.

PSAL. LII. v. 2, 4.

*Thy Tongue deviseth Mischiefs, like a sharp  
Rasor, working deceitfully.  
Thou lovest all devouring Words, O thou de-  
ceitful Tongue.*

PSAL. LV. v. 21.

*The Words of his Mouth were smother than  
Butter, but War was in his Heart: His  
Words were softer than Oyl, yet were they  
drawn Swords.*

BOOK II.

THE King, upon his Return from Scotland,  
gave Order to some of the Bishops there,  
to provide such a Liturgy, and such Ca-  
nons, as might be acceptable to the better  
sort of People, to which the rest would readily sub-  
mit; a Work those Bishops entered upon with some  
Difficulty; for the Proceedings in Parliament during  
the King's Presence there, had sowed the Spi-  
rits

rits of many among the Nobility, who waited only for an Opportunity to enflame and exasperate the People: And two Years, or very near so much, elaps'd, before they had prepared any thing for the King towards their intended Reformation; and even then they inverted the proper Method, presenting a Body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which as yet they had not got ready; the Consideration of which Canons was referred by the King to the Arch-Bishop, and the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich*, who after some Alterations made, by the Consent of the *Scots* Bishops, return'd 'em to the King; and his Majesty, without any other Ceremony, issued out his Proclamation, for the due Observance of 'em throughout all *Scotland*; and that, before they had been so much as seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, or the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom, which was a fatal Over-sight, proceeding from the unhappy Craft of those Bishops, who perswaded the King, that the Work would be acceptable to the most Considerable of the Nobility, Clergy, and Commonalty, (which yet they hardly expected themselves) as believing his Majesty's Approbation and Authority would so far countenance the Matter, that they should find no Opposition in it; and therefore they did not indeed dare submit those Canons to any other Examination, than what the King should appoint in *England*.

Being therefore published in this manner, before the Liturgy was prepared, for a punctual Compliance with which three or four of 'em were purposely framed, and without the Approbation of the Clergy, or Privy of the Council, they were look'd on as so many new Laws, imposed upon the whole Nation by the King's sole Authority, and contrived by a few private Men, Strangers to the Kingdom. This they thought no other than a meer Subjection to *England*, since they received those Laws from thence,



thence, and an Introduction to Popery; the very Apprehensions of which so far intoxicated a great many weak well-meaning Men, that it deprived 'em of all Faculties to examine, and judge.

Some of these Canons defined and determin'd such an extensive Power and Prerogative to be in the King, such a full Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and more unlimited, than had been pretended to by their former Kings; that it wrought strangely upon Men of all Tempers, Humours, and Inclinations: Other things contained in 'em, seemed rather to be Matter of State, than of Religion, and thwarted their Laws and Customs, which had been long observed by 'em, "None were to receive the Sacrament, but upon their Knees; nor cover the Head during Divine Service; the Priest was forbid to make *extempore* Prayers, and obliged to pray by the Form prescribed in the Liturgy, (which by the way was not then framed) with several other Injunctions, fit enough to be recommended to a People religiously disposed, but were too strong Meat for Infants in Discipline; who were thereby easily persuaded by some, who made it their Business every Day, to alarm 'em with Jealousies, that here was an entire new Model of Government introduced in Church and State, and that the Church was nothing, but what the Bishops were pleased to have it; yet were they too cunning to suffer any Disorders to break out upon these Occasions, expecting such an Improvement of these Seeds of Jealousie from the Canons, as would in due time produce the Reception for the Liturgy they wished for: Which being perused by the above-mentioned Bishops in *England*, then approved and confirmed by the King, was in *July*, 1637. published and appointed to be read in all the Churches. And in this Particular were they guilty of the same premeditated Omission they had been before; the Clergy not at all con-

*The Scottish Liturgy.*

sulted in it, not all the Bishops acquainted with it; nor had the Privy-Council any other Notice, than what the rest of the Kingdom had of it; by which they were less obliged to foresee or provide against any Obstructions that might happen.

*The manner of it's Reception in Edenborough.*

On the *Sunday* Morning appointed for the Work, the Chancellor of the Kingdom being with other of the Council present, the Dean began to read the Liturgy in the Cathedral Church, but was quickly interrupted by a Noise and Clamor, and a Shower of Stones directed at his Head. Upon this the Bishop went up into the Pulpit, from thence to remind 'em of their Duty to God and the King, but was treated as rudely as the Dean, 'till the Chancellor commanded the Provost and Magistrates of the City, by their Authority to suppress the Riot; which with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rioters out of the Church, and shutting the Doors upon em; and so the Dean went on in the Service.

When all was ended, that for the present could be done, and the Council and Magistrates returned from the Church home, the Rabble followed the Bishops, and revil'd 'em with all the scurrilous Language their ill Manners could suggest; as the Patrons of Superstition and Popery, and Enslavers of the People, at the same time throwing Dirt and Stones upon 'em, in so much that the Bishop of *Edenborough* escaped in great Hazard of his Life. This Entertainment the Liturgy met with in all other Churches of the City.

Hitherto no Person of Distinction appeared to countenance the seditious Confusion; nor was any one of the Rabble apprehended for it. The Bishops, it seems, contenting themselves, without applying to the Council, to send an Express away to the King, with a full Account of all that had passed, and a Desire, that his Majesty would take what Course he thought best for the carrying on his Service.

Very

Very few in *England* had heard of these Disorders in *Scotland*, 'till the Arrival of this Advertisement; so little was the Curiosity, either in Court or Country, to know or enquire after any thing relating to that Kingdom: And even after the Advertisement of this Preamble to Rebellion, no Notice was taken of it at the Council-Board, but such a Dispatch made into *Scotland* upon it as exprest the King's Displeasure, and obliged the Privy-Council there vigorously to appear in vindication of his Majesty's Authority, and Suppression of the Tumults. But all was then too little. That People, after they had once begun, persisted with all imaginable Contempt of the Government, insomuch as in few Days the Bishops durst not appear in the Streets, but were in great danger of their Lives; and those Lords that were seen in their Company, or endeavour'd to rescue 'em from Violence, had their Coaches torn in pieces, and their own Persons assaulted. So that no new Orders could arrive from *England*, there was hardly a Bishop left in *Edenborough*, nor a Minister who had Courage enough to read the Service in any Church. The whole Kingdom flock'd to *Edenborough*, as upon a general Concern that related to their Salvation, resolved themselves into a new form of Government; drew up a Petition to the King, in the Name of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy and Burgesses of the Kingdom, complaining of the Introduction of Popery, and several other Grievances; and in all their Proceedings behaved themselves with as much Confidence and Formality, as if the Government were regularly in their Hands.

They called a general Assembly, to which the Bishops were summoned, and for Non-Appearance Excommunicated; and then united themselves by subscribing a Covenant, pretended to be no other than that had been subscribed in King *James* his Reign, and which his Majesty subscribed himself;

*The Scotch  
Covenant.*



which Imposition made People of all Degrees cheerfully to engage in it, whereas in Truth this had a Clause inserted, quite contrary to the Intent of that Covenant, in which they obliged themselves to pursue the Extirpation of Episcopacy; and had the Confidence to demand the same of the King, in Answer to a most gracious Message he had sent 'em; and not only sent their Invectives published against the Bishops into *England*, but transmitted 'em to all the Reformed Churches abroad, by which they raised so great a Prejudice against the King, that too many were made believe he had a real Design to introduce Popery.

Many there were of principal Quality at that time in *Edenborough*, that seemed very much to dislike those seditious Proceedings, but very few had Courage enough to oppose 'em; tho' several exceedingly undervalued the Disorder in all their Letters into *England*, as what would easily be suppressed in a very short time when the Peoples Eyes should be opened; so that his Majesty was hardly brought to believe he could receive any Disturbance from thence, 'till he found their Insolence was raised by his Condescensions; that they were raising an Army, and had already chosen Colonel *Lesley*, a Soldier of that Nation, who had long served as an eminent Commander under the King of *Sweden*, for their General. Then at last he thought it high time to resort to other Methods, and chastise those who had despised all gentler Remedies.

And this was the first Alarm *England* received, after the Enjoyment of as full a Prosperity as any People was ever blest withal, for so many Years together. The Nation was stronger at Sea than it had been formerly, the Revenue better improved, and more warily managed; so there is no doubt, but if all of the *Scotch* Nation who were united in the Rebellion had marched in the Army, and publicly

lickly avowed the Covenant, which in their Hearts they privately adored, neither the King nor Kingdom could have suffered any great Damage by 'em, nor the Memory of their Rebellion been preserved in ought but a more memorable Overthrow: But the King, unwilling to condemn a Nation for the Transgression of a Part of it, still reposed the same trust in those who attended his Person, tho' they were in truth no better than Spies for the Covenant, and kept up the Spirits of their Country-men by their Intelligence.

The King having raised an Army, made the Earl of *Arundel* General, as 'tis thought for his Negative Qualities; he did not love the *Scots*, nor the Puritans; Qualifications allay'd by another Negative, he did not much care for any Body else; but his Rank was such, that no Man could decline serving under him. *The King raises an Army against the Scots.*

The Earl of *Essex*, the most popular Man in the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men, was made Lieutenant-General. What between Hatred and Contempt, he was so ill affected to the *Scots* Nation, that he begun to love the King the better for this Promotion, and was capable from that hour of any Impression his Majesty would have fixed upon him.

The Earl of *Holland* was declared General of the Horse, who was not then thought wanting in the least of Affection and Zeal for his Majesties Service.

In the Beginning of the Summer, 1639, the King advanc'd towards the Borders of *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army consisting of near 6000 Horse and about as many Foot, all well disciplin'd Men, and led by Officers of as great Experience, as were at that time to be found in Christendom. Nor was this all the Strength provided for the suppressing that Rebellion; the King had a good Fleet equipp'd, on *And a Fleet.*

Board of which a Body of 3000 Foot were embark'd, commanded by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was to infest the Country by Sea, make a Descent, and join such Forces the Loyal Party of the Kingdom could draw together for the King's Service, which (it was believed) his own Interest would give a great Life to.

Upon the first March of the Army Northwards, the Earl of *Essex* was detach'd with a Body of Horse and Foot to secure *Berwick*, which the King was inform'd the *Scots* speedily intended to be Masters of. The Earl lost no time, but marched Night and Day with great Order and Expedition, daily meeting with several *Scotchmen* of Quality sent expressly to the King, who all gave him very particular Accounts of the Strength of the *Scots* Army, and how that e'er that they were possess'd of *Berwick*; And one, when he was within a Days March of the Place, of principal Condition, and near Relation to the King's Service, advis'd him earnestly to advance no farther with his Party so much inferior to his Enemies, who would infallibly cut him off; that himself overtook the Day before a strong Party, whom he left within three Hours March of *Berwick*, so that his proceeding farther must expose him to certain Ruin. These Advertisements made him quicken his Marches, insomuch that he reach'd *Berwick*, which he enter'd without the least Opposition, sooner than he propos'd to have done; and by all the Enquiry he made, could not discover that any of their Forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed had they ever a considerable Body of Men together, nearer than *Edenborough*.

The Earl, possess'd of this Post, immediately inform'd the King of the Intelligence he had received from so many at that time about him in the Court, who justly deserved to be suspected for publishing such gross Falshoods; who still persisted in the same Reports,



Reports, and were as confident that the Earl himself was defeated, and his Party cut off; and yet underwent no other Reproach, than that their Fears had made 'em see double, and that they had been frightened by other Mens Relations; which Remifness, to give it no worse a Name, was an ill Omen of the Discipline likely to be observ'd.

Had the War been now prosecuted with Vigour, it had been as soon ended as begun. But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which must be imputed to the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderness of Blood, that he too long delay'd his Resolution of having Recourse to Arms; and after that Resolution was once taken, it was not executed with Vigour.

By that time he arriv'd at *York* the Court was so full, through the general Conflux of the Nobility to him, and the multitude of *Scots* in it administer'd so much Matter of Offence, and Jealousie to People of all Conditions, that the whole Body of the Council thought it requisite a short Protestation should be drawn up, in which all Men should profess "their Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty, and "disclaim their holding any manner of Intelligence "or Correspondence with the Rebels. This the *Scots* took to a Man, without wounding their Conscience, or reforming their Manners. But among the *English*, the Lords *Say* and *Brook* (two popular Peers, most undevoted to the Church, and indeed to the Government) peremptorily refus'd it in the King's own Presence, which administer'd Matter of a new Dispute in a very unseasonable time; so that the King thought it best to dismiss 'em, and require them to return to their own Homes; and if he had done the same by all the rest, who were not Officers in the Army, or of necessity about his own Person, the Business had been better followed.

Upon

Upon Advertisement that a Body of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was detach'd with 3000 Horse and 2000 Foot, and a fit Train of Artillery, to meet and engage it. He accordingly march'd as far as *Dunce*, ten or twelve Miles into that Kingdom; where when he arriv'd with his Horse, for the Foot, by reason of the excessive Heat, cou'd not be so expeditious, but was three or four Miles behind with the Artillery, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the Side of a Hill, where the Front was only in view, and where he was told *Lesly* with the whole Army was.

Nothing can be said in Excuse of that Day's Conduct, which might have made the King glorious indeed. The Earl of *Holland*, tho' he had seen no more than two Campaines, yet he was a Man of Courage, and had with him Officers as good as the War of that Age, which was very active, had made; nor was he at that time thought to be corrupted in his Affections. As he safely might have halted till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, so might he with Security enough have engaged his Body of Horse against their inconsiderable Army; but *Lesly* had placed 'em so advantageously on the Hill, that they had the Appearance of a good Body of Men, tho' they did not exceed 3000 in Number, very ill a'm'd, and got on a suddain together to make that Shew. And therefore as soon as the Earl came in view, after he had dispatch'd Messengers one after another to the King, with an Account of what he saw, or thought he saw, without staying for an Answer, he retired towards his Foot, and return'd weary and tired with the Length of the March, and Heat of the Weather, which was intollerable, to the Camp where the King was; and the *Scots* drew something back to a more convenient Post.

The Covenanters were upon good Grounds exalted at this Success, and scatter'd their Letters abroad  
amongst

amongst the Noblemen at Court, especially three  
 several ones they directed to the three Generals;  
 the Earls of *Arundel*, *Essex*, and *Holland*. That  
 to the Earl of *Essex* was more submissive than the o-  
 thers. They told him, "They had not the least  
 Thought of engaging in a War against *England*,  
 their chiefest Hope being to defend their own  
 Rights and Liberties; and how desirous they were  
 the Earl should understand their main Grievance  
 was the Interest of the Marquiss of *Hamilton*,  
 who they knew was in no degree acceptable to the  
 Earl, and therefore, "they begged they might by  
 his Means be admitted to his Majesty's Presence.  
 The Earl, who was a punctual Man in Points of  
 Honour, sent this Address to the King without re-  
 turning any Answer, or entertaining the Messengers  
 with any Conference, or the least Ceremony. But  
 the Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another sort  
 of Reception to the Letters they receiv'd; the first  
 using 'em with more Respect than was agreeable to  
 the Office of a General, and the other was, from  
 that time at least, found inclinable enough to their  
 interest. This, and the King's Readiness to hear  
 of a Pacification, stifled those Animosities and De-  
 sires to the War, which had made so much Noise  
 in the March.

Indeed the Marquiss of *Hamilton*'s friendly Resi-  
 dence with the Fleet and Foot Soldiers before *Lieth*,  
 and the Visits his Mother (a Lady of great Autho-  
 rity among the Covenanters) made him on Board  
 his Ship; the King's refusing Leave to several Offi-  
 cers, who propos'd to make Inroads into the Coun-  
 try, and destroy the Stock thereof, whereby they  
 wou'd presently be forc'd to submit and sue for Par-  
 don; together with the kind and joyful Reception  
 the Earl of *Holland* met with after his shameful Re-  
 treat, made the World suspect his Majesty never in-  
 tended to make the War in Blood, but believ'd the  
 Sight



Sight of an Army wou'd have brought 'em to any Conditions; as sure it might have done, had he but fate still, and been firm to his Interest, and deaf to their arrogant Demands.

They had from the Beginning practis'd a new sawcy Stile of Address. And the King had not at that time one Person about him of his Council, who had the least Regard to his own Honour, or Friendship for those who sat at the Helm, the Duke of *Lenox* only excepted, who was a young Man of small Experience, but of true Honour, and very good Parts. The rest who were in any Offices of Attendance were the Earl of *Holland*, spoken of before, and whom we shall be obliged frequently to mention hereafter, and therefore shall say no more of him now, than that he neither loved the Marquis of *Hamilton*, nor *Wentworth* Deputy of *Ireland*, nor the Arch-Bishop, nor hardly any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke* was near Eighty Years of Age, who knew nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought nothing there was worth the Journey the King had put himself upon. Sir *Harry Vane* was Comptroller of the House, a busie active Man, that cared for no one any farther than he found it convenient for his own Interest. The Earl of *Arundel* thought he had been General long enough. The Earl of *Pembroke* lov'd Hunting and Hawking too well, not to favour all Overtures towards an Accommodation. So the *Scots* found Persons enow to treat with, according to their own Wish. Only the Earl of *Essex* still preserv'd his Grandure and Puncto, nor would he hold any Correspondence with the *Scottish* Commissioners 'till the Pacification was concluded.

The Covenanters continued firm to their old natural Principle, and justified all they had done; "Desiring those might be severely punish'd, who  
"had misrepresented 'em to the King, and that some  
"Noble

"Noble Lords might be named to treat upon all Particulars; and upon this only Submission a Treaty was presently concluded. But whosoever will undertake to recount all that passed in this Treaty, must depend very much upon his own Invention, the most material Matters having passed in Discourse, and very little committed to Writing. An Agreement was made, if it deserves that Name, in which no Body meant what others believed he did: "The *The Treaty of Pacification.*  
"Armies were to be disbanded, an Act of Oblivion pass, an Assembly and Parliament to be summon'd, "no Persons reserved for Justice, because no Fault had "been committed.

The King's Army, by Virtue of this Agreement, was not to be disbanded, 'till they had performed all on their Parts; yet so impatient were they for a Peace, that it was immediately dismissed, and the King hastened away to *London*, whilst the *Scots* carried many of the *English*, and both in mutual Confidence uttered their Resentments to each other.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* came to *Berkes* some Hours after the Treaty had been sign'd, which was very lucky to him, for he was thereby free from the Reproach that attended it, and was at Liberty to find Fault with it, and thereby preserved himself in Credit to do more Mischief. The King's Army being disbanded, the *Scots* returned to *Edenborough*, but kept all their Officers, and what Men they thought fit, in Pay. Instead of abating any thing of their Rage against the Bishops, they publicly protested, "Nothing contained in the Treaty vacated the Proceedings of the late General Assembly at *Glasgow*, (by which all the Bishops were excommunicated) and revived all their Menaces against 'em by Proclamation; so that by the time the King came to *London*, he plainly saw the Army was disbanded without any Peace made, and that the *Scots* were as ready to affront his Majesty, as ever.

The

The ill  
Conse-  
quences of  
it.

The Calamities that befel the King upon this unaccountable Atonement, are not to be expressed. The Army was too unkindly dismissed, to come willingly together again, if any new Occasion required their Service: The Earl of *Essex* discharged in the Crowd without ordinary Ceremony, and unreasonably refused the Command of *Needwood* Forrest, which very much inflamed his high Nature, and laid him open to some Impressions afterwards, which otherwise would not have found so easie an Admission.

The Factions and Fewds at Court were rather greater than before. When the Earl of *Holland* marched with that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcastle* attended him with a Troop of Horse, raised at his own Charge, and called *The Prince of Wales's Troop*, he being Governor to his Highness, and desired, that since it belonged to the Prince, it might have some Precedence, which was refused, and he required to march in the Rank prescribed him: For which, when the Army was disbanded, he sent a Challenge to the Earl of *Holland*, who, tho' never suspected to want Courage, yet showed not that Alacrity upon this Occasion, but by Delay exposed it to so much Notice, that by Intervention of the King's Authority the Matter was composed.

The King himself grew very melancholick, and quickly found he had lost Reputation at home and abroad; and those Counsellors that had been most faulty, shifted every Man the Thing from himself, and found some Friend or other to excuse him. But it being requisite so scandalous a Matter should not be buried in absolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Coke's* Turn (for whom no Body cared) to be made the Sacrifice. Who was thereupon dismissed, and Sir *Harry Vane*, by *Hamilton's* dark Contrivance, and the more visible Power of the Queen, was made Secretary of State: And this again gave Occasion to an unseasonable Displeasure in the Queen against the



the Earl of *Strafford*, who out of Kindness to the Old Man, (for he was then near 80 Years of Age) and Detestation of *Vane*, but chiefly out of a Desire of some greater Expiation for such a Miscarriage, opposed it so vigorously, that the Queen was forc'd to the Exercise of her full Power; which was the Occasion afterwards of many lamentable Disasters. So that by means of this unlucky Pacification, the Flame that first broke out in *Scotland*, kindled many Fires in Court and Country.

On the other side it made the *Scots* more considerable abroad and at home. *France*, their old Ally, considered 'em as proper Instruments to perplex their Neighbours; and Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was glad to disturb a Rest and Quiet, which had opposed his Designs, sent an Agent privately to *Edenborough*, with Arms and Ammunition, and received another from thence. *Holland* enter'd into a nearer Correspondence with 'em: So that thus countenanc'd and supplied, they quickly obtained Power and Credit over the People at home; made those among 'em very uneasie and insecure, who were suspected not to favour their Proceedings; renewed all those Forms for the Administration of the Government, they begun with the Disorders, and which at the Pacification they had disclaimed; and refused the Governor of *Edenborough* Castle, either to repair some Works lately fallen down, or so much as buy Provision in the Town for his Garrison.

Many of the King's Privy-Council and great Ministers, who before seem'd not to approve their riotous Proceedings, began frankly now to espouse their Interest, and quickly became Chief of the Leaders.

As the Earl of *Argyle*, who owed his Preservation from the Anger and Fury of his incens'd Father, to the King's immediate Power and Kindness. The King had too much Reason afterwards to remember what

*Argyle*  
takes the  
Covenant.

what the Old Man told him in the Close, after his Majesty had decided, what should be done on either Part, "That he knew his Son better than the King could do; that he had brought him low, to "raise the other up, which he fear'd he would live "to repent, for that he was crafty, subtle, and false, "and could love no Man; that whenever it was in "his Power, he would be sure to do his Majesty "any Mischief. This the King look'd on as the Effect of Passion; and therefore every Day heaped new Obligations upon him, and gave him the Power to do Hurt, that he might restrain him from doing it; which would have wrought upon any generous Nature, but could not upon the Earl's.

There wanted not some still, who perswaded the King, "All might yet be brought to an End without Blood. And therefore advised his Majesty, "To require, that some from their Body might be "sent, to give an Account of the Reasons of their "Proceedings. They demanded a safe Conduct for those they should employ, which was granted accordingly. Among those Commissioned to wait on the King, was the Lord *Lowden*, one we shall have frequent Occasion to mention hereafter, for which Reason I'll omit enlarging any further upon him in this Place. They behaved themselves with all the Assurance of Men commissioned by a foreign Power; refused to give any Account but to the King himself, and even to him they gave no other Reason for what was done, but the Authority of those that did it, and the Necessity that required it; but this they polished over with all the Professions of Duty their Language was capable of.

*A Letter from some of the Scotch Covenanters to the French King intercepted.*

About this time the King intercepted a Letter, signed by the Chief of the Covenanters, particularly *Lowden*, written to the *French King*; in which they complain "Of the Hardships exercised over 'em, and desire his Majesty, "To take 'em into his Protection;

“tection; and that he would give entire Credit to  
“one *Colvil*, the Bearer, who was instructed in all  
“Particulars. It was sealed up and directed, *An*  
*Roy*; a Style used only from Subjects to their natu-  
ral Prince. Upon this the Lord *Lowden* being ex-  
amined, would give no other Answer, than “That  
“it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon  
“never sent; and presuming upon his safe Conduct,  
demanded Liberty to return. Notwithstanding  
which, both he and *Colvil* were committed to the  
Tower, all Men expecting that they should be brought  
to a speedy Trial.

By this Discovery the King was convinced, that  
to root out so inveterate a Mischief, an Army was  
necessary, tho’ the Revenues of the Crown were so  
far anticipated by the late Expedition, that there  
appeared no means how to raise it. No Expedient  
occurred so proper as a Parliament: For tho’ those  
Meetings had of late been attended by some Disor-  
ders, yet the long Intermission of ’em, and the ge-  
neral Composure of Mens Minds in a happy Peace,  
made it reasonably believed, that such Men would  
be returned to serve in the House of Commons, as  
loved that Peace, and the Plenty they were possess’d  
of. But especially the Indignation they had at the  
Presumption of the *Scots*, in their Design of inva-  
ding *England*, made the King hope a Parliament  
would express a very just Sense of their Insolence and  
Carriage towards him, and provide Remedies accor-  
dingly.

Upon these Considerations the King resolved to  
call a Parliament, and all Expedition was used in is-  
suing out the Writs; the Notice of it being very  
acceptable to the whole Kingdom.

*A Parlia-  
ment call’d  
to sit in A-  
pril, 1640.*

Before the Parliament met, the Lord Keeper Co-  
ventry died, to the the King’s great Detriment, ra-  
ther than his own. His Loss was the more visible  
in his Successor, Sir *John Finch*; a Man exceeding-  
ly

*The Lord  
Coventry  
dies.*



And is  
succeeded  
by Sir John  
Finch.

The Par-  
liament  
meets.

ly obnoxious on Account of the Ship-mony, and neither of Reputation, or Authority enough to countenance, and advance the King's Interest.

The Parliament met according to Summons, April 3, 1640. And after the King had in brief mention'd "His Desire again to converse with Parliaments, after so long an Intermission: He referred the Cause of their present Summons to be enlarged upon by the Lord Keeper, who acquainted 'em with the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*, and closed all with telling 'em, "His Majesty did not expect their Advice, or Interposition in any Office of Mediation, "but that they should with all convenient Speed "give him such a Supply, as might enable him to "raise such an Army, as the Season of the Year, and "the Progress of the Rebels already called for; and "that afterwards they might be assured of time enough to represent any Grievances, and of his Majesty's most favourable Answer. Two Days after the Commons presented their Speaker to the King, who in the usual manner approved their Choice, which fell upon Serjeant *Granville*, a Man equal for the Work, well versed in the Rules of the House, and very acceptable to 'em.

Serjeant  
Granville  
Speaker.

Mr. *Pym*, in a set Discourse above two Hours long, after Mention of the King with most profound Reverence, and Commendation of his Wisdom and Justice, observed, "How many unwarrantable things "had been practised by the long Intermission of Parliaments, the Illegal Proclamations that had been published, and the Proceedings upon 'em; the Judgment upon Ship-mony, and many Grievances relating to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Concluding, "That by what he had said they might see, "how much they had to do to satisfy their Country; the Method of which he left to their Wisdoms. Mr. *Grimston* insisted only on the Ship-mony, and said, "He was persuaded, that they who gave  
"their

“their Opinions for the Lawfulness of it, spoke against  
 “their own Conscience. *Peard*, a bold Lawyer of  
 little Note, was more passionate, calling it *An Abom-*  
*ination*. Upon this, *Herbert*, the King's Sollici-  
 tor, put the House in Mind, “With how much Can-  
 “dor his Majesty proceeded in that and all other  
 “Matters. That he issued not out his Writ for le-  
 “vying Ship-mony, 'till he was assured of it's Legality  
 “by all the Judges in *England*. That no Cause  
 “ever was debated more solemnly, when the Pay-  
 “ment was opposed by a Gentleman, (Mr. *Hamb-*  
*den*) than that was; and after all this, and a Judg-  
 “ment pronounced with so much Solemnity, by  
 “which the King was as legally possessed of that  
 “Right, as of any else he had, for any particular  
 “Man to call it *An Abomination*, was very unwar-  
 “rantable; and he desired the Gentleman, who had  
 “used that Expression, might explain himself, and  
 “withdraw.

This Discourse was thought to have so much  
 Weight in it, that Mr. *Peard* very hardly escaped a  
 severe Reprimand: This is mentioned, that the Tem-  
 per and Sobriety of that House may be taken No-  
 tice of, and their Dissolution, which shortly after  
 followed, be the more lamented.

Before the Parliament had sate a Week, the House  
 of Peers were prevailed with by the Court, to pro-  
 pose to the House of Commons, by way of Advice  
 in a Conference, “That considering the Necessity  
 “of the King's Affairs, they would begin with a  
 “Supply, and afterwards go on upon their Grie-  
 “vances, or any thing else they thought fit. Which  
 was no sooner reported in the Commons House, than  
 unanimously declared to be “So high a Breach of  
 “Privilege, that they could proceed upon no other  
 “Business, 'till they had first received Satisfaction;  
 and which they demanded at a Conference next Day.  
 The Lords were sensible of their Error; “Acknow-  
 “ledged

“ledged the Priviledge of the Commons as fully as  
 “they required it, and desired it might not obstruct  
 “the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, but that they  
 “would proceed in their own Way and Method.  
 This gave no Satisfaction, but served as a Pretence to  
 those, who had no Mind to give a Supply.

The Thing was universally resented; a Committee appointed to examine Presidents, and prepare a Protestation to be sent up to the House of Lords, and enter'd in their own Journal.

After the Thing had been some Days debated, without any Hopes of bringing it to an End, the King sent a Message to the House by Sir *Harry Vane* in Writing, wherein his Majesty took notice “That  
 “there was some Disputes between the two Houses,  
 “which retarded the great Affairs of the Nation;  
 “that he heard the Ship-mony was unwillingly submitted to by the People; which therefore he would  
 “release for the future, in such manner as his Parliament should advise, if they would grant him  
 “Twelve Subsidies to be paid in Three Years.

The House enter'd upon a full Debate of this the Day following, which continued from 9 in the Morning 'till 4 in the Afternoon. They who desired to obstruct it, observed, “That the Purchasing a Release of a very unjust Imposition, would upon the  
 “Matter confess it to be just; and therefore wished  
 “that the Judgment upon Examination might be declared void; that what they then presented the  
 “King, might appear a Gift, and not a Recompence. But this was rather modestly insinuated, than insisted upon. There were very few, except those of the Court, (and they were forward to give all the King demanded, but indeed had little of their own to give) but thought the Sum too great, and wished a less might be accepted, and were willing the Debate might be adjourn'd 'till the next Morning, which was



was readily consented to; and so ended, without one angry offensive Word spoken.

The next Day the Debate being resumed, Mr. *Hambden* when he saw the Matter ripe for the Question, desired it might be put, "Whether the House should comply with the Proposition made by the King, as it was contained in the Message? Which he was sure would meet with a Negative from all who thought the Demand too great, or were not willing it should be given in Recompence of Ship-mony.

When many call'd to have this Question, Serjeant *Glanville* the Speaker (for the House was then in a Committee) endeavour'd in a pathetical Speech to persuade 'em, "To comply with the King, and so reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. He made it appear how trifling a Sum twelve Subsidies were, by telling 'em how much upon Computation his Proportion would be, and when he had named the Sum, he being known to have a great Estate, it seem'd not worth any farther Deliberation.

No Speech ever united the Inclinations of a popular Council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the Question had been presently put, it was believ'd few wou'd have oppos'd it. But after a short Silence, the other Side recovering new Courage, call'd again with some Earnestness that Mr. *Hambden's* Question should be put, which being like to meet with a Concurrence, Mr. *Hyde* then stood up, and giving his Reasons for his Dislike to that Question, propos'd, "That to the end every Man might freely give his Yea or No, the Question might be put only upon giving the King a Supply; which if it was carried, another might be put upon the Manner and Proportion; if not, it wou'd have the same Effect with the other propos'd by Mr. *Hambden*.

This, after it had been some time oppos'd and diverted by other Propositions, which were answer'd

by Mr. *Hyde*, wou'd, as it was generally believ'd, have been put, and carried in the Affirmative, tho' positively oppos'd by *Herbert* the Solicitor-General, for what Reason no Man cou'd conceive, if Sir *Harry Vane* the Secretary had not stood up, and assured 'em as from his Majesty, "That if they  
 "should pass a Vote for a Supply, and not in the  
 "Proportion and Manner propos'd in his Majesty's  
 "Message, it wou'd not be accepted by him, and  
 "therefore desired that the Question might be laid  
 "aside; which being again urged by the Solicitor General, and it being near Five in the Afternoon, it was readily consented to, that the House shou'd adjourn to the next Morning.

What follow'd in the next Parliament made it believ'd that Sir *Harry Vane*, who made the King a worse Representation of the House than it deserv'd, plaid a malicious Part in it, being a declared Enemy to the Lord *Strafford*, whose Destruction was then in Agitation; but what transported the Solicitor to it, who had none of the Ends of the other, cou'd not be imagin'd. Let their Reasons be what they wou'd, they two, and they only, prevail'd so far with the King, that his Majesty next Morning, near a Month after their first Meeting, dissolv'd 'em.

*The Parli-  
ament dis-  
solv'd.*

This Dissolution cast a mighty Damp upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, except those who had most oppos'd his Majesties Desires, who cou'd not conceal the Joy of their Hearts: For they knew too well, that the King wou'd shortly after be oblig'd to call another Parliament, and they were certain so many unbiass'd Men wou'd never be return'd again.

Within an Hour after Mr. *Hyde* met Mr. *Saint John*, who was seldom known to smile, but then had a most chearful Aspect, and observing the other melancholy, as indeed he was from his Heart, ask'd him, "What troubled him? Who answer'd, "The  
 "same he believ'd that troubled most good Men;  
 "that

“that in a Time of so much Confusion, so wise a  
 “Parliament should be so imprudently dismiss’d:  
 The other reply’d a little warmly, “That all was  
 “well; that things must grow worse before they  
 “could be better; and that this Parliament never  
 “could have done what was requisite: As indeed  
 it would not what he and his Party thought so.

The King upon better Thoughts was heartily sorry for what he had done; declared in great Anger, The King troubl’d for it afterwards. what Sir *Harry Vane* spoke was without his Authority; consulted whether by his Proclamation he could recall ’em, which finding a thing impracticable, he fell roundly to find out all Expedients for raising Money, and succeeded so well in it, that in three Weeks time no less than 300000*l.* was by a voluntary Loan paid into the Exchequer; a Sum that sufficiently manifests the Plenty of that Time, and was an unanswerable Instance that the Hearts of his Subjects were not then aliened from their Duty, nor a just Jealousie for his Majesty’s Honour.

All Diligence possible was used in raising Men; An Army rais’d, and the Earl of Northumberland appointed General. the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse; which made the Earls of *Arundel*, *Essex* and *Holland* more obnoxious to the Infusions of wicked Men. And indeed ’tis great Pity the Earl of *Essex* was not again employed, which would infallibly have kept him from swerving from his Duty, and he would have discharged his Trust with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore very likely with good Success.

The War was thought on all Hands to be well provided for, in my Lord *Conway*’s being made General of the Horse. He had been born a Soldier, and bred up in several Commands under his Uncle the Lord *Vere*, in which he always preserv’d a more than ordinary Reputation. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was highly pleas’d with his Promotion, having an extraordinary Opinion of him, and being



much delighted in his Company. For he had reserv'd so much Time from his Pleasures, (to which he was excessively addicted) and his Profession for his Books and Study, that he was well acquainted with all sorts of Learning, and was able to speak of the Church Affairs, of which he affected to be thought a zealous Defender, tho' they who knew him, knew he had no sense of Religion, but thought all alike. He was sent down with the first Troops of Horse and Foot that were rais'd, to the Borders of *Scotland*, to observe the Motion of the Enemy, and lay with his Forces near *Newburn* in the Outskirts of *Northumberland*.

Whilst these Matters were thus publicly transacted, private Agitations were no less vigorously intended. The Court was full of Faction and Animosity: Every Man thought him, whom he found an Enemy to his Enemies, a Friend to all his other Affections; or rather through the Narrowness of his Understanding, and Extent of his Passion, contracted all his other Affections into that one of Revenge. By which Means those Agents for the Mischiefs that were to follow, easily ensnared all those (and God knows they were a great many) who were led by those vile Considerations; Libels were dispers'd, Tumults rais'd, and all Licence both in Words and Actions assum'd; insomuch that a Rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute Persons, some thousands in Number, attempted *Lambeth House*, publicly protesting they would tear the Arch-Bishop in pieces; nor did *Whitehal* it self pass unthreaten'd in their seditious Meetings and Discourses.

Things being at this Pass both in Court and Country, the *Scots* arming for an Invasion, and we at least for a Defence, the Lord *Lowden* was on a suddain discharged from his Imprisonment, and after a kind Reception of a few Days at *Whitehal* was dismiss'd into *Scotland*. This Stratagem never was understood,  
but

but variously discours'd of; some thought he had promis'd to do great Matters for the King at home; others, that it was contriv'd by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had a mind to ingratiate himself with that Nation by so extraordinary an Obligation; they who spoke least, made no Scruple of saying, "That if his Commitment was wise and necessary, his Restraint must have been so too."

The Progress in the King's Advance for *Scotland* was very much obstructed by the Earl of *Northumberland*'s dangerous Sicknefs, who thereupon sent to the King, and desir'd his Majesty would make choice of another General; who concluding it a thing necessary, design'd the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command, who was scarce recovered from a Fit of Sicknefs, yet was willing to undertake the Charge out of pure Indignation, to see how few Men were earnest to serve the King with that Zeal and Vigour they ought. But knowing well the malicious Designs which were design'd against himself, he chose rather to command as Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Northumberland*, and made all possible Hast towards the North, before he had recovered Strength enough for the Journey.

But he could not arrive time enough with his Army, to prevent that scandalous irreparable Rout at *Newburn*; where the Enemy, in spite of many Difficulties and Disadvantages, without Blow given or receiv'd, put the Army to the most infamous confounding Flight that was ever heard of: The Foot running as fast from *Newcastle*, as the Horse did from *Newburn*; both quitting the Honour, and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom, arising from the Coal Mines, to those who were possess'd with all the Fears imaginable, and cou'd scarce believe their own Success, 'till they were assured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army lay quietly in *Durham*,

The Lord  
Conway  
routed at  
Newburn.

*The Scots enter Newcastle.* *Durham*, and then they had Courage enough to enter into *Newcastle*.

*The Army retreats towards York.* In this Condition was the Army when the Earl of *Strafford* came to *Durham*, bringing with him a Body much broken with his late Sicknefs, and a Mind labouring under the Dregs of it; which being wonderfully provoked at the late Dishonour, render'd him less inclinable to ingratiate himself with the Officers upon his first Entrance into his Charge. An Opportunity those, who by this time no doubt were retain'd for that purpose, laid hold of to incense the Army against him, and so far succeeded, that in a short time it was more exasperated against him than the Enemy. For which Reason he found it necessary to retire to the Skirts of *Yorkshire*, leaving *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* to the Conquerors, who had no need now to forward their Progress; their Game was now in the Hands (without any Disrespect to their Skill) of a bler Gamesters. Besides their Neighbours of *Yorkshire*, (upon whom they were not to trespass) instead of drawing their Train'd-Bands together (of themselves a better Army than that they were to contend with) to secure their County, or the Person of the King then among 'em, prepar'd Petitions of Advice to him to summon a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances but the *Scots*. At the same time some Lords from *London* (known since to have been Friends to that Invasion) presented his Majesty with a Petition, sign'd by about eight or ten more, cunningly perswaded thereto by the Liegers there, Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden* and *Saint John*, to concur in it, and so suffer'd themselves to be made Instruments towards those Designs, which in their Hearts they abhorred.

*A great Council of the Peers summon'd to York.* In these Distractions and Discomposures the King cou'd not but find himself in great Straits. To remedy which, a great Council of all the Peers of *England*



land was summoned to attend his Majesty, within twenty Days at York; Writs under the Great Seal were immediately issued out, and Preparations made in all Places accordingly.

Whilst the Lords are on their Way thither, it will not be improper to consider the general State of Affairs in that time, that so upon View of the Materials, we may better guess how those able Workmen were like afterwards to employ themselves. *The State of Affairs at Court at that time.*

The Convocation was, after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, continued by a new Writ, and fate under the proper Name of a Synod, made Cautions, which Men thought it might do, and gave Subsidies, and enjoin'd Oaths, which without doubt it could not do: In a Word, did several things, which in the best of Times might have been question'd, and were therefore certain to be condemn'd in the worst; (what Fewel it was to the Fire that follow'd shall be observ'd in its proper Season) and drew the same Prejudice upon the whole Body, to which only some particular Clergymen were before expos'd. *The Convocation continued sitting after the Parliament.*

The Papists, who had for many Years enjoy'd a great Calm, grew unthrifty Managers of their Prosperity; they appeared more publickly, entertain'd and forced Conferences more avowedly than had been known before. They were grown not only secret Authors, but open Promoters of the most grievous Projects. The Priests had forgot their former Modesty and Fear, and were as willing to be known as listen'd to; insomuch as a Jesuit at Paris, designing for England, had the Impudence to visit the Embassador there, and offering his Service, acquainted him with his intended Journey, as if there had been no Laws for his Reception. And shamefully to countenance the whole Party, an Agent from Rome resided at London in great State. They had publickly collected Mony to a considerable *The Activity and Boldness of the Papists at that time.*

ble Sum, to be by the Queen presented as a free Gift from his Catholick Subjects to the King, towards carrying on the War against the *Scots*, which drew upon 'em the Rage of that Nation; in a Word, they behaved themselves so, as if they had been suborn'd by the *Scots* to destroy their own Religion.

The Burden and Envy of all State-Affairs rested upon the Shoulders of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*.

*The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.*

The first of these grew more engaged in the Civil Business than I believe he desired, and being passionately concern'd for the Church of *Scotland*, was conversant in all those Transactions; by which means a more than ordinary Pique and Uncharitableness was contracted against him, to which the new Canons, and the Circumstances in making 'em, did not a little contribute.

*The Earl of Strafford.*

The Earl of *Strafford* had entirely govern'd *Ireland* for almost six Years, where Reason of State had compell'd him to many Acts of Power. He was a Man of too severe a Deportment, too little ceremonious to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not fail of Enemies enow: Two profess themselves such, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Harry Vane*. The first could not forget or forgive a sharp Saying of his, when upon some Dispute between his Lordship and the Lord *Weston*, (in the Course of which the Earl of *Holland* was confin'd to his House) "That the King would serve him "right in cutting off his Head. Sir *Harry Vane* remember'd how earnestly the Earl opposed his being made Secretary; and how when he was made Lord *Strafford*, he wou'd in that Patent be created Baron of *Raby*, a House of Sir *Harry Vane's*, and an Honour he thought should be his own Right; which was an Act of the most needless Provocation I have known, and I believe chiefly contributed to the Loss of his Head. To

To these a third (like to prove more dangerous than both the other) was added. The Earl of *Essex*, who upon some rough Carriage of the Earl of *Straford* towards his Friend the late Earl of *St. Albans*, openly declared, he would be revenged. Lastly, he had an Enemy more dreadful than all the others, and like to prove more fatal, the whole *Scottish* Nation, provoked by the Declaration he had obtained of *Ireland*, and some high Expressions of his against 'em in that Kingdom.

The Lord *Cottington*, tho' he was a wise Man, *The Lord Cottington* knew better how to make his Master great abroad, than gracious at home; and having been a long time Chancellor of the Exchequer, was concerned in a great many hard Shifts for Money. And was suspected at least to favour the Papists, by which he gave no small Umbrage to the People. There were two Things that render'd him as odious as any, to the great Reformers; one, that he could not be prevailed with, to countenance any of their Designs; the other, that he was in too good Offices, without the having of which their Reformation would be imperfect: For, besides being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was Master of the Wards, and had, during his Administration, highly improved the Revenue of that Court. Which Husbandry incensed all the rich Families of *England*, and made 'em resolve to pluck that Jewel out of the Royal Diadem, tho' fixed there upon as unquestionable a Right, as the Subject enjoyed any thing that was most his own.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* was, by the People's *The Marquis of Hamilton* Hatred to him, thought at that time to be in greater Danger, than any of the other. The Discoveries between the Lord of *Mackay*, and *David Ramsay*, wherein the Marquis was accused of a Design to make himself King of *Scotland*, still lived in men's Memories; and the late Passages in that Kingdom had revived it in others; so that he had Reason



son to expect as ill a Prefage for himself, as the most melancholick of the other; but as he always had taken the greatest Care for himself, so he was likely to be solicitous on his own Behalf, and to provide accordingly.

And here I cannot omit a Story, which was as great a Piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe can be found among the modern Politicians. A little before the Appearance of the Peers at *York*, the Marquiss, with a dejected Countenance, desired of his Majesty Leave to travel, for that "He fore-  
"saw a Storm, in which his Ship-wrack was certain;  
"that he knew he might be well assured of his Ma-  
"jesty's Protection, but that the Knowledge of that  
"gracious Disposition in his Majesty, was the great  
"Reason which made him beg Leave to be absent;  
"that otherwise he would never so far desert his own  
"Innocence, which might be fullyed with Infirmi-  
"ties and Indiscretion, (proceeding from an entire  
"simple Obedience to his Majesty's Commands) not  
"defaced with Design and Malice. But, said he, I'll  
"rather run any Risque, than be so immediate a Cause  
"of Damage to so Royal a Master.

The King was sensibly touched with the Probability of what was said; which the Marquiss soon observing, "There is, said he, one way to secure  
"me, without leaving the Kingdom, but is so con-  
"trary to my Nature, and will be so scandalous to  
"my Honour in the Eye of the World, that for  
"my own Part I had rather run my Fortune. His  
Majesty, glad of such an Expedient, impatiently  
asked him, What that Way was? The other re-  
plied, "That by promising his Service to the other  
"Party, and seeming to approve of their Opinions  
"and Designs, he might endear himself to 'em. But  
"this he knew would meet with so much Jealousie  
"from other Men, and shortly with that Reproach,  
"that he might by degrees be lessened in his Maje-  
"sty's

“*sty's* own Trust, and therefore he had no Mind  
“to undertake it: And so renew'd his Importunity  
again for Leave to travel.

The King was highly pleas'd with the Expedient,  
and having a great Esteem of the Fidelity of the  
Marquiss, told him plainly, “That he should not  
“leave him; that he was not only contented, but  
“commanded him by any means to strike in with  
“the other People; assuring him, “That it should  
“be in no ones Power to infuse any Distrust of him  
“into his Royal Breast. Which Resolution his  
Majesty observ'd so punctually, that the other en-  
joyed the Liberty of doing whatever he thought  
conducting to his own Safety: And by wonderful  
Craft, and low Condescension, obtained no less Cre-  
dit with the Parliament, than the *Scottish* Commis-  
sioners, and preserv'd himself from any publick Re-  
proach in those Charges, which ruined other Men,  
and which he deserv'd more than any; and yet the  
King grew not jealous of him for a long time; to  
whom he gave many Advertisements, which would  
have been of great Use, had there been Persons  
enough, who would have concurred in the Preven-  
tion.

This was the Face of Affairs when the Lords  
came to *York*, and his Majesty, who exceedingly de-  
sired to endear the Queen to the People, told 'em  
at their first Meeting, “He was by a Letter from  
“her advis'd to call a Parliament, which therefore  
“he was resolv'd to do. And a Petition was the  
same Day present'd to him from the *Scots*, full of  
as much Submission, as a Victory it self could pro-  
duce; which therefore could not but beget a Tre-  
aty: And a Treaty was concluded upon to be at *Rippon*,  
a Place in the King's Quarters. But then the King  
was cautioned, not to intrust any such ungracious  
Persons in it, as might create Jealousies in the *Scots*,  
and so render it fruitless. For which Reason the  
Earls

*The Scots  
petition the  
King.*

*Upon  
which a  
Treaty is  
appointed  
at Rippon.*

Earls of *Hartford, Bedford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Berkshire*, the Lords *Mandevile, Wharton, Dunsmore, Brook, Savile, Pawlet, Howard of Escrick*, were appointed by the King; all popular Men, and scarce one of 'em a Friend, or so much as civilly inclined towards the Earl of *Strafford*. Those from the *Scots* Army were of a Quality much inferior, there being no more than two Noblemen, whereof the Lord *Lowden* was Chief, two or three Gentlemen and Citizens, with *Alexander Henderson*, their Metropolitan, and two or three Clergy-men more. The *Scots* addressed their most particular Applications to the Earls of *Bedford, Essex, Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, tho' in publick they seemed to care for 'em all alike. They ran out into voluminous Expressions "Of their Affection to the Kingdom and People of *England*, protesting they had the same Regard to their Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, as to their own. That "as the Invasions upon their native Country, both in "their Civil and Spiritual Rights, had forc'd 'em "upon this manner of Address, so they hoped it "might be to the Benefit of this Kingdom, and the "Subjects thereof, in giving 'em this Opportunity "of vindicating their own Liberties and Laws, which "were infringed by those very Men, who, when "they had finished their Work in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, intended to establish the same Slavery in *England*, all which would be prevented by removing "three or four Persons from the King, who of himself was graciously inclined to his People; but those "ill Men had too great an Influence upon his Counsels.

There was not one of all the *English* Commissioners, but approved of this Discourse, and promised to himself some Advantage from the Alterations which were like to happen. To those Lords, with whom they desired a stricter Confidence, they spake  
more



more openly "Of the Excess of the Queen's Power, "which prevailed too much upon the King in all "Affairs, who could never be happy, 'till he had "such Persons about him, as were of Honour and "Experience, and zealous for the Preservation of the "Protestant Religion, in great Danger at present by "the exorbitant Power of the Arch-Bishop of *Can-* "terbury, and some other Bishops, that were influ- "enced by him. They concluded in assuring 'em, "their Affections were so great to this Kingdom, "that, tho' they should immediately be satisfied in "all that concerns themselves, they would not give "over, 'till Provision was likewise made for the true "Interest of *England*, and a Reformation in Church "and State.

This Model was approved by most of the King's Commissioners; who patiently listened to all they said in publick, of which they designed to give an Account to the King, and willingly heard whatever they said in private, drawing such a Use from it, as they thought most conducing to their own Ends. The *Scots* proposed, "That to prevent the Effusion "of Christian Blood, all Hostility should be pre- "vented on either side, which could not well be "done, unless Care were taken for the Payment of "their Army, still restrained to close and narrow "Quarters. The Commissioners returned a few Days after to the King at *York*, and gave him an Account of what had passed, and how zealous the *Scots* were affected to his Majesty's Service. Three of them, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, who were all influenced by the *Scots*, and approved of whatever they pretended to desire. Besides those the King had no one to advise with, but the Lord Keeper *Finch*, who was open to so many Reproaches, that tho' he was entire to the King in his Affection and Fidelity, he strove to ingratiate himself with

The Coun-  
sellors a-  
bout the  
King at  
York.

those he saw likely able to protect him; the Duke of *Richmond*, Young, and used to discourse with his Majesty in the Bed-chamber more than at the Council-Board; the Marquis of *Hamilton*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, who indeed was the only Man, whose Advice was of any Credit with the King. And he thought there was but one Way, (which was not to be communicated at the Council) and that was to drive 'em out of the Kingdom by the Army: Wherefore he sent Major *Smith* with a Party of Horse, who defeated two or three of their Troops in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and made it appear, the Kingdom might be rid of the rest, if it was vigorously pursued. Upon this *Lesly* complained, "That he had forborn any such Attempt out of Respect to the Treaty; and the *English* Commissioners fancied themselves affronted in it. And when it was known the Officer, who commanded the Party, was a Papist; it made more Noise, and the King was prevailed with, to restrain his General from giving out any more such Orders.

The King was so far displeased with the Temper of his Commissioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honour than they appeared to be, and therefore he sent 'em back to renew the Treaty, and conclude a Cessation of Arms upon the best Terms they could; which being agreed to, they should adjourn their Treaty to *London*; the only Thing desired by the *Scots*, without which they never could have master'd their Designs. The Earl of *Pembroke* was the same time sent to borrow 200000*l.* of the City for the Payment of both Armies, whilst the Cessation and Treaty should continue. The City was easily persuaded, being to be repaid out of the first Mony that should be raised by Parliament.

The

The Commissioners at *Rippon* quickly agreed upon the Cessation, which the King confirm'd, and sent a safe Conduct for such of the Commissioners the *Scots* were to send to *London* for carrying on the Treaty. All which being done, the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the opening of the Parliament, which met according to the Writs, the third Day of *November* following.

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*The End of the Second Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
A BRIDG'D.

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DEUT. XII. v. 30.

*Take heed to thy self, that thou be not snared by following them, and that thou enquire not after their Gods, saying, How did these Nations serve their Gods? Even so will I do likewise.*

JUDG. XI. v. 30.

*----But they shall be as Thorns in your Sides, and their Gods shall be a Snare unto you.*

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BOOK III.

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FROM the Time the King had resolv'd to call a Parliament, his Majesty design'd Sir *Tho. Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, to be Speaker in the House of Commons; a Man of Gravity and Quickness, of some Authority and Gracefulness in his Person and Meen, and in all Respects fit for the Service. It was not questioned but he would be returned in one of the four Places for the City, but for

for fear of the worst, Care was taken to procure him elected in one or two more. The Faction was so strong against him in the City, that his Name was hardly mention'd, nor was there less Industry used to prevent his being chosen in other Places: So great a Fear was there that a Man of unblemished Affections to the King, and of Prudence enough to manage those Affections, and regulate the contrary, should be put into the Chair. So that when the King was going to the House the first Day of their meeting, he was informed Sir *Thomas* was not returned; which made his Majesty defer it 'till the Afternoon, that he might have time to think of another Speaker. And after all the Deliberation the Shortness of that Time wou'd admit, Mr. *Lenthall* a Bencher of *Lincolns-Inn*, a Lawyer well enough inclined to the Government both of Church and State, was with great Difficulty prevailed with, rather than perswaded by the Court, to accept the Charge. And questionless a worse could not have been pitched upon, for he was a Man of a very narrow timorous Nature, not knowing how to maintain his own Dignity, or curb the Licence and Exorbitance of others; his Weakness contributed as much to the growing Mischiefs, as the Malice of the chief Contrivers. However, after the King had recommended the distracted Condition of the Nation (with too little Majesty) to the Wisdom of the two Houses, Mr. *Lenthall* was chosen Speaker, and being two Days after presented to the King, and accepted by him, the Houses were then ready for the Work. Mr. Lenthall made Speaker.

A marvellous elated Countenance was observed in many of the Members, before they met together in the House; the same Men who six Months before were observed to be very calm and moderate, talk'd now in another Dialect both of Things, and Persons: By which it was perceiv'd, that the warmest

and boldest Counsels would find a kinder Reception, than those of a more temperate Allay. Which  
*Mr. Pym* fell out accordingly; for *Mr. Pym*, the very first  
*begins the* Day in which they cou'd enter upon Business, in  
*Debate of* a long form'd Discourse bewail'd the miserable State  
*Grievances* and Condition of the Kingdom, aggravated all that  
 had been done amiss in the Government, "as done  
 "and contriv'd maliciously to alter the whole Frame,  
 "and rob the Nation of what was their Birth-right  
 "by the Laws of the Land, their Liberty and Pro-  
 "perty. And after a specious Commendation of  
 the King, that he might wound him with less Su-  
 spicion, he said, "We must enquire who those Per-  
 "sons are, that so far insinuated themselves into his  
 "Royal Affections, as to be able to pervert his ex-  
 "cellent Judgment, and traiterously apply his Au-  
 "thority to countenance and support their own per-  
 "nicious Designs. And tho' 'twas to be feared ma-  
 "ny had contributed their joint Endeavours to in-  
 "volve the Nation in the Miseries it now labours  
 "under, yet he believed there was one more signal  
 "than the rest, who of a zealous Stickler for the  
 "Liberties of the People, was become the greatest  
 "Promoter of Tyranny that any Age had ever  
 "produc'd. Then he nam'd the Earl of *Strafford*,  
 Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and instanc'd some  
 high imperious Actions done by him there, and in  
*England*.

He had no sooner done, but he was seconded by  
*Sir John Clotworthy*, an *Irish* Gentleman, by the Con-  
 trivance and Recommendation of some powerful Per-  
 sons, return'd for a Burrough in *Devonshire*, that he  
 might be the better qualified to act this Part against the  
 Lord Lieutenant. He made a long confus'd Relation of  
 his Tyrannical Behaviour in that Kingdom, of some  
 very exalted Expressions and high Actions in his  
 Administration of that Government, in which the  
 Lives



Lives as well as Fortunes of Men had been disposed of, out of the ordinary Methods of Justice.

Several others appearing ready to continue the Debate, an Order was suddenly made, "That the Door shou'd be shut, and no Member permitted to go out of the House; Care having been first taken by an Advertisement to some of the Lords, that their House might likewise be kept sitting, which would otherwise very much have broken their Measures.

Then Sir *John Hotham* and other *Yorkshire* Gentlemen continued the Invective, mentioning how upon the Execution of some illegal Commission he had declared, "That they should feel the little Finger of the King's Prerogative heavier upon 'em than the Loins of the Law; which Expression, tho' upon After-Examination it was found to intend a quite contrary Sense, highly exasperated 'em against him. In short, after many Hours spent at this rate, it was moved, according to the secret Resolution taken before, "That he might be immediately impeach'd of High-Treason. Which was no sooner mention'd than it found a general Approbation; so that without considering the Unreasonableness or Injustice of their Precipitation, they voted unanimously that they would forthwith send up to the Lords, and accuse the Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treason, and desire that he might be excluded from the Council, and committed to safe Custody, and Mr. *Pym* was chosen for the Messenger to perform that Office. The Business being thus determin'd, the Doors were opened, and most of the House accompanied him on the Errand.

About Three in the Afternoon the Earl of *Strafford*, (being weak and indispos'd in his Health, and so not having stirr'd out of his House that Morning) hearing that both the Houses were still sitting, thought fit to go thither. Some believ'd (but for what

reason was never clearly known) he hasten'd then to accuse the Lord *Say* and others, of having induced the *Scots* to an Invasion; but he was scarce enter'd into the Lord's House, when the Message from the House of Commons was call'd in; and when Mr. *Pym* at the Bar had, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, impeach'd *Tho. Earl of Strafford* of High-Treason, and several other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, of which the Commons would in due time make Proof in Form, desiring in the mean time that he might be committed to safe Custody, and so withdrew: The Earl was, with more Clamour than became that high Court, called upon to withdraw, hardly obtaining Leave to be first heard in his Place, tho' he had a Right to challenge it.

"He then lamented his great Misfortune, to lye  
 "under so heavy a Charge; profess'd his Innocence  
 "and Integrity, desired he might have his Liberty  
 "'till some Guilt should be proved against him.  
 "Wish'd them to consider what Mischief they were  
 "bringing upon themselves, if upon a general Charge,  
 "without the Mention of any one Crime, they com-  
 "mitted a Peer of the Realm to Prison, and of  
 "what consequence such a President might be; and  
 then withdrew. The Peers, upon a very short Debate, resolv'd, "He should be committed to the Custody of the Black-Rod, 'till the Commons should produce a particular Charge against him. Which Resolution of the House, the Lord Keeper upon the Wool-Pack pronounc'd to him, upon his Knees at the Bar of the House.

When this Work was so prosperously concluded, they begun to consider, that tho' all possible Care had been used to get such Members chosen, or returned if not chosen, who were most refractory to the Government of the Church and State, yet when the first Heat should be a little over, violent Counsels would be no longer listened to. Therefore as  
 the

the Committee of Elections, without any Rule of Justice so much as pretended to by 'em, remov'd many they suspected averse to their Passions, that others more pliable might be admitted in their Places, so they declared, That no Person, how lawfully or regularly soever elected, who had been a Party in any Project, or been employ'd in any illegal Commission, should sit as a Member with them.

By this Means many Gentlemen of good Quality were expell'd, and others of more agreeable Dispositions were chosen in their Places. But even in this they guided themselves by no Rule, for no Person was hereby excluded who they had any hopes was inclinable to their violent Counsels. For which reason the King charged 'em in one of his Declarations, "That when under the Notion of Projectors they removed many, yet Sir *Henry Mildmay* and "Mr. *Lawrence Whitaker* were never call'd in question; who had been most scandalously engaged in those Oppressions, but since more scandalously in all Designs against his Majesty. To which they never made any Reply.

Their next Art was, to render the Rigour and Severity of the House formidable to all who had been in any Trust, or Employment in the Kingdom. Thus all who had been High-Sheriffs, and collected Ship-mony, were deeply concern'd by their Votes relating to that. Very severe Conclusions were made upon all Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, who were the best of Quality of all the Counties in *England*. This, and their Disquisitions upon the Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, at once expos'd all the Lords of the Council, all Deputy-Lieutenants and High-Sheriffs, to the Mercy of those grand Inquisitors.

When they had sufficiently startled Men by these Proceedings, and upon half an Hours Debate sent up an Accusation of High-Treason against the Lord Arch-Bishop



The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and so remov'd him likewise from the Council, they grew satisfied with their general Rules, Votes and Orders, without proceeding against Things or Persons, designing rather to keep Men in suspense, and take an Advantage of their Fears, than, by letting 'em feel at once the worst that could befall 'em, lose the Benefit of their Application. So they us'd all their Art in keeping off any Debate upon Ship-mony, reserving that whole Business to hang as a Meteor over the Heads of those, who were any ways concern'd in it: And when in spite of all their Skill to prevent it, that Business was brought upon the Stage, and the Lord Keeper *Finch* of consequence named the avow'd Author of that odious Judgment; who according to their Rule, "That an Endeavour to alter the Government by Law, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power were Treason, was the most notoriously guilty of any could be named. Before they would bear the Mention of an Accusation of High-Treason, they appointed a Committee formally to prepare it, (which was not observ'd with the Arch-Bishop and the Earl of *Strafford*) and then gave him a Day to be heard for himself at the Bar of the House; whereby, contrary to all Order, he might observe what was doing in the House concerning himself: And perceiving by their own Rules he must be accused of High-Treason, they prolong'd the Debate 'till the Lords were risen, so that the Accusation was not carry'd

The Lord up 'till the next Morning, and by that time the Lord Keeper withdrew, and went shortly after into *Holland*; the Lord *Littleton*, then Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, succeeding him.

About the same time Sir *Francis Windebank*, a Member of the House of Commons, one of the Principal Secretaries of State (a profest Patron of the Papists) was accus'd of many Transactions in their Behalf; and when some Warrants under his own

own Hand were produced for the Discharge of several Prosecutions against Priests, and for the Release of Priests out of Prison, he was according to Custom order'd to withdraw into the Committee-Chamber, and the House went to a Conference with the Lords; and returning, never resumed the Debate, but after they had enter'd upon some other Business Adjourn'd themselves at their usual Hour, so the Secretary had liberty to go home; from whence, observing the Disposition of the House, and what might be urg'd against him, he withdrew himself from all Places where Enquiry might be made after him, and was no more heard of 'till he got into *France*.

And Secretary  
Windebank.

Thus these terrible Reformers, in less than six Weeks, had removed two of the greatest Counsellors of the Kingdom, whom they so feared and hated, from the King, and imprisoned 'em upon an Accusation of High-Treason; frighted away the Lord Keeper, and one of the Secretaries of State for fear of the like, and prepared all the Lords of the Council, and very many of the principal Gentlemen throughout the Kingdom, to expect such a measure of Punishment as their future Carriage should draw upon 'em for their former Offences: By which Means they were like to find no strong Resistance or Opposition to their farther Designs.

I never yet could learn the true Reason why they permitted Secretary *Windebank* to escape their Justice, against whom they had such pregnant Testimony of Offences, some of which might have proved Capital, and so have satisfied their Thirst of Blood. For he not only protected Priests himself, and harbour'd them in his own House, which by a Statute in the 29 of *Queen Elizabeth* is Felony; but there were Warrants produc'd under his own Hand for the Release of Priests out of *Newgate*, who were convicted of Treason, and condemn'd to be hang'd,

hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. I remember one Story brought into the House against him that administer'd much Mirth; A Messenger, whose main Business was the apprehending of Priests, came one Day to him in his Garden and told him, "He had apprehended a stirring busie Priest that Morning, and desired to know to what Prison he should commit him. The Secretary sharply ask'd him, If he would never give over his Blood-thirsty Humour, took the Warrant from him, and departed without giving any farther Direction. The Messenger frightened at this, thought the Priest a Man in Favour, and so let him escape; but within two or three Days he was clapp'd up in Execution for Debt. Some time after the Secretary sent for the Messenger, and ask'd him, "What was become of his Prisoner? He told him, He conceived his Honour had been offended at his apprehending him, and therefore let him go. Sir *Francis* in much Passion told him, "The discharging a Priest was no trivial Matter; and that "if he did not find him with speed, his Life should answer it. The Messenger was so terrified at those Threats, that he never gave over his Search 'till he found him out in Prison, and by vertue of his former Warrant took him into Custody again, and carried him before the Secretary; and in a little time after the Priest was discharged, and set at Liberty. The Plaintiff in the Action arrested the Jaylor, and he again sued the Messenger, who appealed for Justice against the Secretary to the House of Commons.

This Case had been presented to the Committee, and was ready to be reported whilst the Secretary was in the House. Besides, he was charged by the Lords for a Breach of Privilege at the Dissolution of the last Parliament, for signing Warrants to search the Studies and Papers of some Members. But as his Brother-Secretary, Sir *Harry Vane*, whom they



they were to protect, would have inevitably been involved in the last, so it seems they were pleased he should escape from any Trial for the rest.

Having thus vigorously made their first Entrance upon Business, they proceeded every Day with the same Fervour; and that they might hasten the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, they appointed a close Committee of such Members they could best trust, under an Obligation of Secrecy, to prepare the Heads of a Charge against him, a Thing seldom or never heard of before in Parliament; and that they might be sure to do their Business effectually, they sent a Message to the Lords, to desire them, "To appoint a select Committee, who should examine upon Oath such Witnesses, as the Committee of the House of Commons, for preparing the Heads of the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, should bring before 'em, and in their Presence, and upon such Questions as they should offer. Which, tho' it was without a President, the Lords presently complied with, and named such Peers as very well knew what they had to do. Then they caused some, who had been oppressed by any severe Sentence in the Star-Chamber, or imprisoned by the Lords of the Council, to petition every Day against them, and all those, who had levied Conduct-mony, or Ship-mony. Upon reading which Petitions, all the Acts, how Formal and Judicial soever, were voted "Illegal, and against the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and all who were guilty of such Proceedings, should be prosecuted for their Presumption, and pay Damages to the Persons injured. This affected very many in both Houses, who thereby became liable to be proceeded against upon the first Provocation; and were therefore kept in such Awe, that they durst not appear to dislike, much less oppose, whatever was proposed.

All

All Persons committed for Sedition by the Star-Chamber, were released, that they might prosecute their Appeals in Parliament. In the mean time, tho' two expensive Armies were in the Bowels of the Kingdom, Care was taken only to provide Mony to pay 'em, without the least Provision for the Return of one into *Scotland*, and the Disbanding the other, that so that vast Expence might be determined: But on the contrary it was frequently insinuated, "That  
 "many great Matters were first to be done, before  
 "the Armies could be disbanded; only they desired the King, "All Papiſts might be cashier'd, which could not be denied 'em; and so some Officers of good Account were immediately dismissed.

*The Character of the leading Men in both Houses.*

It will not be impertinent, or unnatural to this present Discourse, to give the Reader in this Place a View of the Temper and Constitution of both Houses, that he may the less wonder at those prodigious Alterations, he will meet with hereafter, which sunk the Crown so low, that it could neither support it self, nor those who were willing to appear faithful to it.

*The Earl of Bedford.*

Of the House of Peers the great Managers were first the Earl of *Bedford*; a wise Man, and of too great a Fortune, to aim at a Subversion of the Government: His Design was, as it quickly appeared, to make himself and his Friends great at Court, and not to lessen the Court it self.

*The Lord Say.*

The Lord *Say*, a Man of a close reserved Nature, of small Fortune, great Parts, and the highest Ambition, which yet was not to be satisfied with profitable Employments, without some Condescension and Alterations in Ecclesiastical Matters. He was the Oracle of those, who were term'd *Puritans* in the worst Sense; a professed Enemy to the Church, and most of the eminent Church-men, with some of whom he had particular Conteſts. He violently opposed all Acts of State, and Impositions, that were

not

not exactly Legal. His Commitment at *Tork* the Year before, because he would not take an Oath, or rather subscribe a Protestation against holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, had made him very popular. In short, he was in great Authority with all the discontented Party, and in good Reputation with many who were not discontented, who took him to be a wise Man, of a useful Temper in an Age of Licence, and one who would constantly adhere to the Law.

The Lord *Mandevile*, eldest Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a Person of great Civility, well bred, and an early Courtier under the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose Relation he had married. He had attended upon the Prince into *Spain*, and had been called up to the House of Lords, by the Name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, in his Father's Life-time, which was a very great Favour. His second Wife was Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick*, the great Patron of the *Puritans*, tho' of a Life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed Rigor, which they chose rather to dispense with, than withdraw from a House, where they met with so eminent a Protection, and extraordinary Bounty.

The Lord *Mandevile* upon his latter Marriage withdrew entirely from Court, where the Earl of *Warwick* was in no Grace, and adhered totally to the discontented Party; many of whom lived in a Kind of Fraternity, as in one Family, at a Gentleman's House of a fair Fortune, near the Place where the Lord *Mandevile* lived: Who, the better to improve that Popularity, maintained a greater Port than his wary Father's narrow Exhibition could justify; supplying the Rest by contracting a vast Debt, which lay a long time heavy upon him; by which generous Way of living, and his natural Civility, and good Manners, he became universally beloved by the Faction, who communicated the whole Mass of their

De-



Designs to none more than him, nor consulted any with more Intimacy. These three Lords are nominated, because they were principally trusted by those, who were to direct the House of Commons, and to raise that Spirit, which upon all Occasions was to inflame the Lords, among whom there was still a major Part inclinable, if not over-reach'd, to adhere to the King, and the established Government; and therefore these three were implicitly trusted and rely'd on, to improve their Party among the Peers by all the Arts imaginable.

*The Earl of Essex.* And so by their Artifices, and Application to his Vanity, and resenting his late ill Treatment at Court, they possess'd themselves of the Earl of *Essex*, to whom his Dislike towards the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, made all Approaches easie; who having sat long in Parliament, and being acquainted with the Order of it, tho' he was no good Speaker in publick, had much Authority in all their Debates; *Warwick*, *Brook*, *Wharton*, *Paaget*, *Howard*, and some others, were blindly governed by the Lords mentioned before, and started, or seconded whatever they directed.

*Of the House of Commons.* In the House of Commons were many Men of Wisdom and Gravity, who being possessed of plentiful Estates, tho' they bore the Court no good Will, had all imaginable Duty for the King, and Affection to the Government; and therefore all Inventions were set on Foot, to corrupt some by insinuating "With what Danger all that was precious "to the Subject of Liberty and Property was threatened; and terrifying others with the Apprehensions "Of being called in Question for somewhat "they had done, in Compliance with the Acts of "State mentioned before, and encouraging the rest "to concur with 'em in Hopes of Honours and Preferments, with which they should be rewarded; tho' many were miss-led by these several Allurements,

ments, and others needed no other Temptations, than the Perverseness of their own Natures, and their Malice to the Church and Court; yet the Number of those who were to govern the rest, was not great, nor were there many who had the absolute Authority to lead, tho' there were too many disposed to follow.

Mr. Pym had served very long in Parliament, and was therefore thought to have most Experience in it; he was always a Man of Business, being an Officer in the Exchequer: And tho' he was inclined to the *Parliament* Party, yet was he not so violent against the Church, as the other Leading Men were, but wholly devoted to the Earl of Bedford, who had nothing of that Spirit.

Mr. Pym.

Mr. Hambden, a Man of greater Cunning, and the most discerning Spirit of any of that Time, was a Gentleman of good Extraction, and a fair Fortune, who from a Life of great Pleasure and Licence, retired on a sudden to great Sobriety and Strictness, yet retained his usual Cheerfulness and Affability; which together with the Opinion of his Wisdom, Justice, and the Courage he had shown on Account of the Ship-money, raised his Reputation to a great Height, not only throughout *Buckinghamshire*, where he lived, but over all the Kingdom. He was a Man of few Words, and rarely begun the Discourse; but a weighty Speaker, and after he had heard a Debate, and found which Way the House was likely to incline, took up the Argument, and generally carried it to the End he desired. He always expressed a mighty Distrust of his own Judgment, a high Esteem of his with whom he conferred for the present, and seemed to have no Opinions or Resolutions, but what resulted from the Discourses of others, whom with a wonderful Address he lead into his own Principles and Inclinations, whilst they believed he was governed wholly by their Advice.

Mr. Hambden.

H

No

No Man ever had a greater Command over himself, or was less the Man he seemed to be, as appeared shortly after when he was less curious of keeping on the Mask.

Mr. Saint-  
John.

Mr. *Saint-John*, firmly united to the other two, was a Lawyer of *Lincolns-Inn*, of little Practice, 'till he was retained by Mr. *Hambden*, in the Case of Ship-mony, which gained him much Reputation, and called him to all Causes, where the King's Prerogative was most contested. He was of a dark cloudy Countenance, very proud and reserved, conversing with but few, and those of his own Humour and Inclinations. He had many Years before been questioned in the Star-Chamber, with other Persons of great Name and Reputation, for communicating some Paper among themselves, which some at that time would have extended to a Design of Sedition, but distrusting the Success of the Prosecution, they were all shortly after discharged, but he never forgave the Court the first Assault, and grew into an implacable Hatred against the Church, purely from the Company he kept. He was of intimate Trust with the Earl of *Bedford*, to whom he was in a manner related, (being a base Son of the House of *Bullingbrook*) and by him brought into all Matters, where he himself was concerned. Of these three, together with the Lords above mentioned, was the Engine thought to consist that moved all the rest: Tho' it was evident, that *Nathaniel Fienes*, the Lord *Say's* second Son, and Young Sir *Harry Vane*, were embraced by them with full Confidence; and without Reserve.

Mr. Fien-  
nes.

The former had spent his time abroad in *Geneva*, and among the *Swiss* Cantons, where he improved that Aversion to the Church, in which he had been educated. He returned from his Travels through *Scotland*, then when that Rebellion was in the Bud, and was little known, except among that People, whose



whose Conversation lay among themselves, 'till in Parliament he quickly discovered how like he was to make good to his Father, whose Darling he was, whatsoever he had promised for many Years before.

Sir *Harry Vane* was a Man of great natural Parts, *Sir Harry Vane.* and most profound Diffimulation. His unusual Physiognomy (tho' neither his Father nor Mother were remarkable for their Beauty) made Men imagine something extraordinary in him, and his whole Life verified that Imagination. Returning from his Studies in *Oxford*, he spent some time in *France*, but more in *Geneva*, where he was first tainted with that bitter Prejudice to the Church, which after his Return into *England* he contracted to so high a Degree. In this Giddiness, which much offended, or seemed to offend his Father, who still appeared highly conformable, he transported himself into *New-England*. Where he was no sooner landed, but his Parts quickly made him taken Notice of, and very probably he received some Advantage from his Quality, being a Privy-Counsellor's Eldest Son; in so much, that at the next Season for Election of Magistrates he was chosen Governor; in which Place he had such ill Fortune, that he was displeased with them, and they with him. He returned again into *England*, where with his Father's Approbation and Direction, seeming much reformed from his former Extravagancies, he married a Young Lady of a good Family, and was by his Father's Credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, High-Admiral of *England*, joined with Sir *William Russel*, in the Office of Treasurer of the Navy (a Place of great Trust and Profit) which he equally enjoyed with the other, and seemed well satisfied with the Government. Upon the Disobligation his Father received from the Lord *Strafford*, (mentioned before) they resigned themselves to all imaginable Thoughts of Revenge; and

from that time the Son betook himself to the Friendship of Mr. Pym, and other discontented or seditious Persons, and directed all that Intelligence, (which will hereafter be mentioned, as he himself will very often be) that designed the Earl's Ruin; and acquired him the entire Confidence of those, who contrived the same; so that nothing was concealed from him, tho' it's believed he communicated his own Thoughts to very few.

Mr. Denzil Hollis.

*Denzil Hollis* was in as much Esteem with the whole Party as any Man, being of more accomplished Parts, than any of the rest, and of great Reputation for what he did in Opposition to the Court, and the Duke of *Buckingham* in the last Parliament, that had been before the short one in *April*, and his long Imprisonment and severe Prosecution afterwards upon that Account; of which he retained the Memory with Resentment enough. But he would not in the least concern himself in the Earl of *Strafford's* Affair, who had married his Sister, by whom he had all his Children, which made him a Stranger to all those Consultations, but did not weaken his Friendship with the most violent of those Prosecutors, *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haslerigg*, and the Northern Gentlemen, who were most incensed against the Earl, or fearful of their own, being in the Mercy of the House; as *Hotham*, *Cholmly*, and *Scapleton*, with some popular Lawyers, who had no Suspicion of any Wickedness in Design, and so by Degrees became involved in the worst, observed and followed the Directions of the other, according to the Parts assigned 'em upon emergent Occasions: Whilst the whole House looked on with Wonder and Amazement, and no Man opposed the Passion and Fury, with which so many were transported.

This was the Temper and Constitution of both Houses at their first Meeting; observing all those, who

who were not, nor were like to be of their Opinions, with all imaginable Jealousie; and if any of their Elections came to be disputed, they were sure to be turned out, and then all Tricks were used to bring in more sanctified Members; so that every Week their Party encreased, either from new Elections, or Profelytes they gained upon the old.

The Armies of the two Nations remain'd quiet in their severall Quarters in the North by vertue of the Cessation, which continued prorogued from Month to Month, that People might believe a full Peace would speedily be concluded. And the Treaty, which had been begun at *Rippon*, being adjourn'd to *London*, the *Scottish* Commissioners (whereof the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowden* were chief) came thither in great State, and were receiv'd by the King with that Countenance, which he could not chuse but shew 'em, and were lodg'd near *London-Stone*, in a House so near *St. Antholin's Church*, that there was a Way out of it into a Gallery of the Church, which was assign'd to 'em for their own Devotions; where one of their own Chaplains (the chief of which was *Alexander Henderson*) always Preach'd, who were resorted to by the Citizens out of Humour and Faction, by others out of Curiosity, or that they might the better justify the Contempt they had of 'em, to that degree, that on every Sunday the Church was never empty from Morning 'till Night, tho' their Sermons were the most flat and insipid that could be form'd upon any Deliberation.

The Earl of *Rothes* had been the main Contriver of that whole Matter from the Beginning; and was a Man well bred, of good Parts, and happy Address. We shall sometimes hereafter have occasion to mention him, and the Lord *Lowden*, of whom we have already said as much as is yet necessary. As soon as they came to Town, a new Committee of both Hou-



*A Committee of both Houses appointed to treat with the Scottish Commissioners.* such as were very acceptable to them, was nominated to renew the Treaty; and then they Publish'd their Declaration against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which they said, "That as they reserv'd those of their own Nation, who had been Incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, to the Inquisition of their own Parliament; so they should be satisfied with what Punishment the Wisdom of the Parliament should think fit to award, against these two criminal Persons.

That Expression concerning *those of their own Nation*, made it evident to those who had been long jealous of the Trick, that they design'd no Harm to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, against whom at first all their Bitterness was directed. But by his Friendship to the Lord *Lowden* in procuring his Liberty, and his Dexterity at *York* with the *Scots* Commissioners deputed thither, he had obtained as well from the *English* as the *Scots*, all Assurance of Indemnity: Which they made good so punctually, that they were not more industrious to procure Evidence, and Information against the other two great Men, than they were careful to divert and stifle all that could be offerr'd, or produced against the Marquis.

And they were exceedingly vigilant to prevent the *Scottish* Commissioners contracting any Familiarity with those, who were not firm to their Party. Insomuch as the Lord *Rothes* walking one Day in *Westminster-Hall* with Mr. *Hyde*, between whom there was some Kindness, by reason of their mutual Friendship with some Persons of Honour, and they two walking towards the Gate to take a Coach, and make a Visit together, the Earl on a sudden desired the other to walk on, and he would overtake him by that time he got to the Coach; but staying long he thought he might be diverted from his Purpose, and so return'd back into the Hall, where presently meeting

ing him, they both pursued their former Design; and the Earl told him in the Coach, "That he had "been detain'd purely upon his Account, and there- "fore he must excuse him; that whilst he was walk- "ing with him a Gentleman touc'd his Cloak, which "made him desire him to go before, and then the "other Person told him, he was walking with the "greatest Enemy the *Scottish* Nation had in Parlia- "ment, and that he ought to be cautious of com- "municating any thing of Importance to him; which "cautious Advertisment was severally given him by "four or five other eminent Men. And then he discours'd with as little Concern, and as much Mirth of the Persons and their Jealousie, as the other could do. Men so sagacious in pursuing their Point could not easily miscarry.

These Commissioners were caref'd by both Houses, and an Order carefully enter'd, "That upon "all Occasions the Expression should be us'd of [*Our Brethren of Scotland.*] Upon which many endearing Complements pass'd, and an hearty Resolution of Amity and Union between the two Nations.

Things being thus settled, it grew high time for 'em to satisfy the Publick in the Discovery of their new Treasons; for the better preparing whereof, the *Scottish* Commissioners, in the Name of that Nation, presented (as is said before) the two Declarations against the Arch-Bishop, and the Earl of *Strafford*, which were stuff'd with as much Acrimony as can be imagined, and read publicly in both Houses. That against the Arch-Bishop was for the present laid aside, and I believe they had then no Thought of resuming it, hoping his Age and Imprisonment would in a short time have freed 'em from any farther Trouble. But a speedy Proceeding against the other was earnestly urged, as of no less moment than the Peace between the two Nations;

## The HISTORY of

not without some Intimation, "That there was no  
 "hope of the *Scottish* Army's retiring into their  
 "Country, before exemplary Justice was done up-  
 "on the Earl to their Satisfaction. And having in-  
 flamed Men with this Consideration, they easily car-  
 ry'd two Propositions of dangerous Consequence to  
 the King's Service, and to the Safety and Integrity  
 of all honest Men.

The first, "For a Committee to be appointed of  
 "both Houses, to take the preparatory Examinati-  
 "ons. For as they alledged the Charge against him  
 "was of an extraordinary Nature, a Treason being  
 "to be proved out of a Complication of several ill  
 "Acts, that therefore 'twas proper a Committee  
 "should examine some Witnesses upon Oath, out of  
 "whose Depositions an Impeachment would natural-  
 ly be framed. This both Houses readily consent-  
 ed to, without considering such an Inquisition would  
 with ease prepare a Charge against the most innocent  
 Man living, where all his private Discourses might  
 be perverted, and applied according to the Consci-  
 ence and Craft of a diligent and malicious Prosecu-  
 tion. The second was, "For examining upon Oath  
 "Privy-Counsellors, upon such Matters as pass'd at  
 "the Council-Board. For said they, "The main  
 "Treason with which the Earl was to be charged,  
 "was a Design to change the Form of Government,  
 "which Design must be made evident, as well by  
 "his Advices and Expressions, as his publick Acti-  
 "ons, and those could not be proved but by such  
 "who were present at those Consultations, and they  
 "were only Privy-Counsellors.

The House of Commons were as easily satisfied  
 with the Reasonableness of this as the former, yet  
 the compassing it was not like to be so easie; for the  
 Privy-Counsellors would reasonably insist upon the  
 Oath they had taken, and pretend, "That they  
 "cou'd discover nothing pass'd at the Board without  
 "the



“the King’s Consent, who was not likely to consent  
 “to the betraying himself; but this must be in-  
 “sisted on, for God forbid corrupt Counsellors  
 “should in Safety propose and advise at that Board  
 “Courses destructive to the Health and Being of the  
 “Kingdom, and that the Sovereign Physician of the  
 “Nation, the Parliament, should be hinder’d from  
 “preserving the Publick, because no Evidence must be  
 “given of such pernicious Counsels. And so arm’d  
 with this specious Oratory, they desire the Lords  
 Concurrence, who without much Debate gave their  
 Consent, and appointed a Committee to attend on  
 the King for his; who not weighing the Consequence,  
 and being unanimously advised to it by his Council,  
 yielded to it. And so they were presently exami-  
 ned by a Committee of both Houses appointed for  
 that purpose.

The Ruin this last Act brought to the King was  
 irreparable, for besides that those Words Sir *Harry*  
*Vane* so punctually remember’d against the Earl (as  
 you will find when we come to his Trial) were  
 hereby proved, and that it was Matter of Horror to  
 the Counsellors, to find they might be arraign’d for  
 every rash imperious Word they had dropp’d there:  
 It banish’d for ever all future Freedom from that  
 Board, all Men satisfying themselves they were no long-  
 er oblig’d to deliver their Opinions freely there, when  
 they might be call’d to an Account for it in another  
 Place; and the evincing this so useful Doctrine was  
 doubtless more the Design of those mighty Mana-  
 gers, than the hope of receiving farther Information  
 from it.

It was now time to look after themselves as well  
 as the Publick, and to repair as well as pluck down.  
 Therefore as the chief Reason for the accusing those  
 two great Persons of High-Treason (that is, of the  
 Consent to it in general, before any Evidence was  
 required) was, that they might be shut out from  
 the

Some new  
Privy-  
Counsellors  
sworn of the  
popular  
Party.

the King's Presence, and his Counsels, without which they thought theirs would have no Power with him; so that being finish'd, Care was taken to possess the King by Marquis *Hamilton*, "That his Majesty "having declared to his People, That he sincerely "intended a Reformation of all those Excesses in "Church and State, the most gracious Instance he "could give of such his Intention, was to call such "to his Council, whom the People thought inclin'd "to such a Reformation. Hereupon the Earls of *Hertford*, (whom the King afterwards made Marquiss) *Bedford*, *Essex*, and *Bristol*, the Lords *Say*, *Savile*, and *Kimbolton*, were sworn Privy-Counsellors all in one Day, and the Earl of *Warwick* a very little while after. This the King did very chearfully, heartily inclined to some of 'em, as he had reason, and not mistrusting any Inconvenience from the other, whom he thought this Act of his Grace would at least restrain if not reform.

That it might appear that what was transacted within the Houses was liked by those who were without, and that the same Spirit prevail'd in Parliament and People, all imaginable Licence was used both in Preaching and Printing against the Church; Petitions presented by Parishioners against their Pastors, with Articles of their Misdemeanors, all which were read with great Delight, and presently referred to the Committee upon Religion, where Mr. *White* a sober Lawyer, but notoriously averse to the Church, was Chairman; and then both Petition and Articles were Printed, that the People might be exasperated against the Clergy; and were quickly taught to call those against whom such Petitions were exhibited *The scandalous Clergy*, tho' Men of great Gravity and Learning, and most unblemish'd Lives.

There can be no greater Instance of the unruly factious Spirit of the City of *London*, which was become the Sink of all the ill Humours of the Kingdom,

dom, than the triumphant Entry of some libellous, infamous Offenders, who as such had been seen before stigmatized on the Pillory.

Three Persons of several Professions had some Years before been censured in the Star-Chamber, *William Pryn* a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*, *John Bastwick* a Doctor in Physick, and *Henry Burton* a Minister and Lecturer of *London*.

The first of these was a tolerable speculative Lawyer, but being a Person of great Industry was more read in Divinity; and, which spoil'd that Divinity, convers'd with factious hot-headed Divines: By which Mixture, together with the Rudeness and Pride of his own Nature, he contracted an arrogant venomous Dislike to the Discipline of the Church, and (as it often happens) an Irreverence to the Government of the State too, both which he publish'd in several absurd, sawcy, superstitious Pieces in Print.

The other, a half-witted crack-brain'd Fellow, a Stranger to both Universities and the College of Physicians, had gotten a Doctorship and some *Latin* abroad, with which in a very flowing Stile, a little Wit, and much Malice, he arraign'd the Prelates of the Church in a Book which he Printed in *Holland*, and industriously scattered in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; presuming (with a Modesty equal to his Obedience) to Dedicate it *To the Sacred Majesty of the King*.

The third attended formerly as Closet-Keeper to his Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, and a little before King *James's* Death took Orders, and so his Highness coming shortly after to be King, nothing would content him less than Clerk of the Closet to the new King; which Place his Majesty conferr'd upon, or rather continued to *Dr. Neyl* Bishop of *Durham*. Mr. *Burton* depriv'd thus, as he call'd it, of his Right, and resolving to revenge himself of the



the Bishop of *Durham* upon the whole Order, turn'd Lecturer, and Preach'd against 'em, being first for some sawcy Indiscretions forbid the Court.

These three Persons, being first gently Reprehended for their libelling Writings, and for their Obstinacy at length Imprisoned, combin'd, by Means of Correspondence they found in Prison, in a most scandalous Libel, wherein the Honour of the King, Queen, Counsellors and Bishops, were with equal Licence blasted and traduced; and upon a very patient solemn Hearing at the Star-Chamber, in as full a Court as ever I saw in that Place, without one dissenting Voice they were all three adjudg'd to lose their Ears in the Pillory, and to be kept Prisoners in several Jails during the King's Pleasure. But the Itch of Libelling still prevailed in 'em. Upon which Mr. *Pryn* was sent to a Castle in the Island of *Fer-sey*. Dr. *Bastwick* to *Silley*, and Mr. *Burton* to *Guernsey*, that they might breathe out their Corruptions in an Air more remote from the City, and less liable to the Contagion.

At the Beginning of this Parliament their Wives or Friends presented Petitions to the House of Commons, expressing their heavy Censures and long Sufferings; and desiring by way of Appeal, "That the Severity of that Sentence might be examined, and considered; and that their Persons might be brought from those remote desolate Places to *London*, that so they might be more capable of attending their own Business. The sending for 'em out of Prison required much Consideration; for tho' many thought, that as they were scurvy Fellows so they had been scurvily used, and others had not only a Kindness to their Persons, as having suffer'd for the common Cause, and had a mind to employ those useful Faculties of Libelling, and reviling Authority; yet a Sentence of a Supream Court (for the Star-Chamber had not yet been mention'd with Irreverence)

reverence) was not lightly to be superseded; Yet when they were informed, that by that Sentence they were adjudged to some Prisons here in *London*, but were removed thence by Order of Council, which they looked on as a Violation of the Sentence, they ordered without any Scruple, they should be removed to the Prisons where they were first committed; upon which Warrants were signed by the Speaker, and sent to the Governors of the respective Castles, to bring 'em in safe Custody to *London*.

*Pryn* and *Burton* landed at the same time at *Southampton*, where they were caressed with extraordinary Tokens of Affection and Esteem, and their Charges not only born with great Magnificence, but liberal Presents sent 'em; which Method and Ceremony was continued to 'em all their Journey. And when they came near *London*, Multitudes of People met them some Miles from the Town; and about two of the Clock in the Afternoon they were attended into the City by above ten thousand Persons, with Boughs and Flowers in their Hands, and expressions of Joy for their Deliverance and Return; mingling in their Acclamations, bitter Expressions against the Bishops, "Who had so unmercifully persecuted such Godly Men. In five or six Days after, *Dr. Bastwick* returning from *Silley*, was conducted in the like Triumph by the good People of *London*, to his Lodging likewise in the City.

From hence it is evident, that this Insurrection (for it it was no better) and Frenzy of the People, was an Effect of great Industry and Policy, to try and publish the Temper of the People, and experiment the Interest of their Tribunes, to whom that Province of shewing them was entrusted; and from this time the Licence of Printing and Preaching encreas'd to that Degree, that all the Pulpits were open to silenced schismatical Preachers, who till then had lurk'd in several Corners, or lived in *New-England*; and the

the Press at Liberty for the publishing the most seditious Pamphlets their Wit or Malice could invent. Whilst the Ministers of the State, and Judges of the Law, like Men in an Extasie, had no Speech or Motion. Whereas without Doubt, had they assumed the Courage to question the Preaching, or the Printing, or the seditious Riots upon the Triumph of those three scandalous Persons, before the People had been confirm'd in all three by an Uninterruption and Security, it had been no difficult Task to have destroy'd those Seeds, which through Neglect grew up to a plentiful Harvest of Rebellion and Treason. But this was yet but a Rankness abroad without any open Contenance from the Parliament.

*A Declaration of some Ministers, and a Petition of some Citizens, against Episcopal Government in the Church.*

The first Malignity that was visible there, was against the Church: First in their Committee for Religion, where under Pretence of receiving Petitions against Clergymen, they often debated Points above the Reach of their Understanding. Then by their forward Reception of a long Declaration against the whole Government of the Church, presented by ten or twelve Ministers at the Bar; and pretended to be signed by some hundreds of the Ministers of London, and the Parts adjacent. And a Petition presented by Alderman *Pennington*, signed, as he alleged, by 20000 Inhabitants within the City, who peremptorily required the total Extirpation of Episcopacy. Yet the House was then so far from being possessed with that Spirit, that all could be obtained upon a long Debate, was, "That the Petition shou'd not be repeated; only it was suffered to continue in the Clerks Hands, with Order, "That no Copy of it should be disposed of. And for the Minister's Declaration, only one Part of it was insisted on by them, and read in the House, relating to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Excess of their Courts. The other Parts were declined by many of 'em, and particularly ordered "To be seal-

"ed



“ed up, that they might be perused by no Man. So that all their Spleen against the Church seemed to be resolved into the Desire “Of a Bill, to remove “the Bishops out of the House of Lords, and from “secular Affairs; of which more shall be said in it’s proper Place.

Those Petitions were procured by a strange Dis- ingenuity, which was practised ever after in the like Addresses. They first prepared a Petition very modest and dutiful for the Form, and not very unreasonable in the Substance, which they took Care to communicate at some publick Meeting, and get it received with Approbation. The Subscription of a few Hands filled the Paper it self, wherein the Petition was contained, and therefore more Sheets were annexed for the Reception of the Number, which was to Countenance the Undertaking. When many Hands were procured, the Petition it self was cut off, and a new one, suitable to the Design on Foot, annexed to the long List of Names, which were subscribed to the former. Thus several Ministers, whose Hands were to the Petition and Declaration before mentioned, have professed “They never saw either before they were presented to the “House, but had signed another, the Contents of “which were, Not to be obliged to take the Oath required by the new Canons; and when they found “the Deceit, they with much Trouble went to “Mr. *Marshall*, with whom they had left the Petition, “and their Hands, from whom they had no other “Answer, but that those who understood Business “better than they, thought the latter should rather be preferred than the former; and when he found they were going by some publick Act to vindicate themselves from that Calumny, those upon whom they had their greatest Dependance, were engaged by Threats to deter ’em from it.

The

The better to make way for those malicious Attempts upon the Church, Petitions and Complaints were exhibited against the exorbitant Acts of some Bishops and the new Canons.

I observed before, that the Convocation continued by a special Warrant, after the Dissolution of the former Parliament; and his Majesty in a solemn Message required 'em "To proceed in the making "Canons for the Peace and Quiet of the Church. Notwithstanding which the chief of the Clergy desired "The Opinions of the Judges might be known, "and declared, whether they might then Lawfully "sit, the Parliament being dissolved: And all the Judges, upon a full Debate before the Privy-Council, under their Hands asserted, "The Power of the "Convocation in framing Canons; and those other "Parts of Jurisdiction that had been so maliciously "controverted. Upon this they proceeded, and having composed a Body of Canons, they presented 'em to the King for his Royal Approbation. They were then again debated at the Council-Board, not without great Opposition, especially from Sir *Henry Martin*, upon retrenching the Power and Authority of the Chancellors, and their Commissaries by these Canons; but in the End, by the unanimous Advice of the Privy-Council, they were confirmed by the King under the great Seal, and so enjoined to be observed; so that whatever they were, the Judges were as guilty of the first Presumption in framing 'em, and the Privy-Council in publishing and executing 'em, as the Bishops or the rest of the Clergy in either.

Yet the Church bore all the Blame; and the Matter of those Canons, and Manner of framing 'em, was urged as an infallible Proof of a malignant Spirit in the very Function of a Bishop. So that the House of Commons made no Scruple of declaring, "That "the Convocation had no Authority to make Ca-

"nons, (tho' they never had been otherwise made;)  
"that

“that those Canons contained in ‘em Matter of Se-  
“dition and Reproach to the Regal Power, preju-  
“dicial to Liberty and Property, and the Privilege of  
“Parliament. By which famous Vote they had at  
once involved the greatest Part of the Clergy, under  
the Guilt of arbitrary Proceedings, as they had done  
the Nobility and Gentry before; of which they  
made the same Use, as shall be observed in it’s pro-  
per Place.

In the mean time the two Armies must be sup-  
plied for fear of free Quarter; which would intro-  
duce a Necessity of disbanding ‘em, for which they  
were as yet in no Degree ready: And since Mony  
could not be raised soon enough in a regular Way  
by Act of Parliament, it was thought fit to make  
Use of their Credit with the City; to whom a for-  
mal Embassy of Lords and Commons was deputed,  
designedly consisting of such Persons as carried the  
Business of the House before ‘em, that this Service  
might be imputed as well to their particular Inter-  
est, as the Affection of the City; and they in their  
Orations undertook, that the Parliament should take  
Care to re-pay the Mony with Interest. And this  
was the first Introduction of the publick Faith, which  
in Process of time was applied to monstrous Pur-  
poses.

This Expedient succeeded twice or thrice for such  
Sums as they thought necessary, which were not  
proportionable to discharge the Debt, but to enable  
‘em to pay their Quarters, otherwise they would  
appear too ready to be disbanded.

When they had settled this Commerce in the Ci-  
ty, and by that Means raised their Friends there in-  
to more Reputation and Activity, at their Election  
for Common-Council-men, all the Sober Substan-  
tial Citizens were left out, (tho’ the old had been  
usually continued) and such chosen as were most



zealous in opposing the Government, and most distressed to the Church.

Other Ways were now thought on for raising Money, which was very earnestly called for once a Month by the *Scots* Commissioners; and therefore the next Expedient was, "That in so great an Exigence, to prevent the Effusion of Blood by the Determination of the Cessation, which Want of Pay would infallibly produce, several Members of the House would lend Money according to their respective Abilities; and such who had none to spare, would become bound for it, by which means enough could be raised. This was readily embraced by the principal Leaders, and by others, who had a Mind to ingratiate themselves with 'em; and some did it for their own Convenience, thinking they ran no Hazard of their Money, and believing it would facilitate the Disbanding of the Armies, which all sober Men earnestly desired.

And at last, when, to support their Credit, they thought fit to raise Money by Act of Parliament, they had a good Excuse not to give it immediately to the King to be returned into the Exchequer, because the publick Faith was so deeply engaged, and so many particular Members in the Loan, and bound for great Sums, that it was reasonable they should be appointed Commissioners to receive it, and discharge all publick Engagements. The first Bill they passed, being but for two Subsidies, which was not sufficient to discharge any considerable Sum of the Money borrowed; they inserted the Commissioners Names in the Bill, and the King made no Scruple in passing it, himself not considering the Consequence of it, and none about him being courageous enough to represent it to him.

This Method they observed in all their future Bills for Money; so that none of it could be applied to the King's Use, or by his Direction. They observed

served likewise, that his Majesty had taken ever since his coming to the Crown the Customs and Impositions upon Merchandice as his own Right, which they said no King had ever done before; insinuating withal, that they would enquire into those who had been the Ministers in that Presumption; that they intended to grant the same to his Majesty for Life, as had been done to his Predecessors, but that it was a thing that could not be done presently, because the Book of Rates, now in Practice, was to be reformed; that the Continuance of the Collection would be a very ill President, and therefore that it should be discontinued, no Merchant being compelled by Law to pay it; or a short Act presently passed for the Continuance of those Payments for a short time, against the Expiration whereof, the Act for granting 'em for Life, with the Book of Rates, would be ready. This last Expedient was thought the most proper, and so they prepared it with all the Expressions of Duty and Affection to his Majesty imaginable, "Condemning, in the Preamble, all that had been done in that Particular, from his Majesty's coming to the Crown 'till that time. And asserting "his whole Right to that Revenue to proceed from "his Subject's Gift; and concluded "With most "severe Penalties to be inflicted on those, who should "presume for the future to collect 'em otherwise than "as they were or should be granted by Parliament; which the King likewise passed. So all the Revenue he had to live upon, was taken into their Hands, in Order to take it from him too, when they found their other Designs required it; of which he shortly after felt the Mischief. As if the late great Supply (as they would have it thought) had been carried directly to the King's Coffers, tho' he had not hitherto received one Penny, it was thought reasonable the People should be refreshed with some beneficial Law; and under that Consideration, another,

for a Triennial Parliament was sent up to the Lords, with a Bill for Subsidies; both which quickly passed the House, and were transmitted to the King.

*A Bill for  
a Triennial  
Parlia-  
ment pas-  
sed.*

In that for the Triennial Parliament were some Clauses very derogatory to Monarchical Principles; as "Giving the People a Power of assembling themselves, if the King failed to call them; and the like. Yet the King really intending to make those Conventions frequent, enacted those two Bills together; so much to the outward Joy and Satisfaction of both Houses, that they pretended, "The Commonwealth was thereby so sufficiently provided for, that they had nothing remaining now to do, "but the Return of all Duty and Gratitude to the "King, and that their chief Desire was to make "him Glorious; but these Royal Fits never lasted "long.

The Lord *Finch's* Flight begot several Vacancies. *Littleton*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, was, upon the Recommendation of the two great Ministers under the Cloud, made Keeper. *Banks*, the Attorney-General, was promoted to the Common-Pleas. *Herbert*, Solicitor-General, who had sate all this time in the House of Commons, curbed and terrified with their Temper, longed infinitely to be out of that Fire: It being not usual then for the Attorney-General, to be a Member of the House of Commons; and he was called by Writ to attend the House of Peers, where he sits upon the Wool-sack behind the Judges.

From the time they had removed the Arch-Bishop, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the great Patriots thought they might be able to serve their Country better, if they obtained the Preferments of the Court for themselves; and in a short time, by the Marquis of *Hamilton's* Dexterity, all Particulars were adjusted for every Man's Accommodation.

The



The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Treasurer; in order to which the Bishop of *London* had already begg'd leave of the King to resign the Staff, and so prudently withdrew from the Storm, and enjoy'd more Tranquillity than any Man of the three Kingdoms during the tempestuous Times that followed, and liv'd to see a happy End of all, and died in great Honour. And so for the present the Treasury was put into Commission. The Lord *Cottington*, upon Promise of Indemnity for the future, was to surrender, and Mr. *Pym* be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. These two were engaged to obtain a liberal Provision and Settlement for the King's Revenue.

For the better effecting of which, the Earl of *Bedford* prevail'd with the King to make *Saint-John* Solicitor-General, which his Majesty readily consented to, hoping he would be of use hereafter to his Service in the House of Commons, where his Authority was very great, or at least that he would be asham'd to appear in any thing prejudicial to him. His Party had no Apprehension or Jealousie that he would change his Side upon this Promotion, so deep rooted was his Malignity against the Government; so that he lost no Credit with 'em, but made good their Confidence, being the same Man when he was Solicitor, that he was before.

The Lord *Say* was to be Master of the Wards, and *Denzill Hollis* to succeed *Windebank* as Secretary of State.

Thus far the King complied with the Intrigue for Preferments, and 'tis great Pity 'twas not fully executed; for probably some of these very Men, after such high Engagements, would have advised and assisted his Majesty, whereas he had now none left about him (the Duke of *Richmond*, and some very few more, who always behaved themselves honourably, excepted) in any immediate Trust in Business,

who did not betray, or sink under the Weight or Reproach of it.

But the Earl of *Bedford* thought not fit to enter into the Treasury, till the Revenue was in some Degree settled, at least till the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage pass'd; and for Life; which both he and Mr. *Pym* labour'd heartily to effect. And none of 'em were very earnest to take their Promotions, before some Provision was made for the rest of their chief Companions, who wou'd be neither pleas'd with the Start they had got before 'em, nor for the future follow their Dictates with so much Submission. And therefore there were several Designs for the Promotion of *Hambden*, *Essex*, *Kimbolton*, and others, tho' not so fully concluded as those before mentioned. For the King's great End in all was to save the Earl of *Strafford's* Life, and preserve the Church from Ruin; for no body thought the Archbishop's Life in Danger: But the continued and renewed Violence in the Earl's Prosecution, suspended the putting these Promotions in Practice.

Upon a new Occasion, from the Importunity of the *Scottish* Commissioners to procure Mony, when the Leading Men seem'd to despair of being able to borrow more, for that the City was dishearten'd to see no Delinquents brought yet to Justice, and therefore that none could be expected from thence, till some Advance was made to those longed Ends, Mr. *Hyde* stood up, and said, "He did not think  
"the thing so difficult as was pretended; that no  
"Man lent his Mony who was not a Gainer by it;  
"that there was Mony enough to be had, and did  
"not doubt, but if a small Committee from the House  
"was sent to confer, in the Name of the House,  
"with those who were reputed to be Monied Men;  
"they might prevail for as much as would serve the  
"present Exigence. Whereupon the House named  
him, Mr. *Capel*, Sir *John Strangers*, and five or  
fix

fix more, who repair'd into the City, and after they had spoken together with four or five eminent Men, of Wisdom and Sobriety, as well as Ability to lend, they agreed to divide themselves, and confer separately with their particular Acquaintance upon the same Subject. Many Men chusing rather to lend their Money than to be thought to have it, and being very cautious in their Expressions, except in private.

They found, when they had again communicated together, that the Business was very easie, ev'ry Man with whom they had conferr'd being willing to lend upon their Security who propos'd it: And Mr. Hyde the next Day reported the Success of their Employment, and then enlarg'd upon "The Temper they found the City to be in, upon the Authority of those who might reasonably be suppos'd to know it best. That indeed it was much concern'd to see two Armies maintain'd at so vast a Charge within the Bowels of the Kingdom; and that they, who were able to make good what they promis'd, had readily engaged, if a peremptory Day was assign'd for being rid of those Armies, there should be no Want of Money to discharge 'em.

As the Major Part of the House receiv'd this Report with great Applause, so the Governing Party were exceedingly perplexed with it. If they accepted of this Supply, it would be too great Countenance to those Gentlemen who procur'd it, and whose Reputation they labour'd to depress. Besides, the Disbanding, how grateful soever it was to other Men, was what they abhorr'd. After a long Silence, Mr. Hambden "much commended the Pains the Gentlemen had been at, of which no doubt a good Use would be made; and so propos'd that it might be thought of, and the Debate be adjourn'd till the next Day, which could not be deny'd. The next



Day Alderman *Pennington* begun the Discourse, and said, "Those Gentlemen had a fair Report, but that "there was *Colloquintida* in the end of it; that he "could not learn with what Persons they had con- "ferr'd about the Temper of the City, the most "considerable Men in which acquiesc'd in the Judg- "ment of the Parliament, to do what they thought "best for the Kingdom, without wishing what "should be done, and conclude that the Sum the "House wanted, or a greater, was ready to be paid "to whomsoever they appointed to receive it. The House made it self merry with the Alderman's *Colloquintida*, and desired him to explain it. and so the Debate ended.

A Committee from Ireland in order to prosecute the Earl of Strafford.

About the Beginning of *March* they begun to prepare for the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; and by this time, for the better carrying on the Work, a Committee from the Parliament of that Kingdom, (consisting most of *Papists*, the principal Actors since in the Rebellion) sent to solicit concerning Matters of that Kingdom, was come, and receiv'd with great Kindness, and added to the Committee for the Prosecution of that Earl. So that now *Ireland* seem'd no less engaged in the Ruin of that unfortunate Lord, than *England* and *Scotland*, there being such a Correspondence managed between *London* and *Dublin*, that whatever was acted in the House of Commons here, was soon after represented there. And as Sir *George Ratcliff* was accused here upon a Pretence of being Confederate with the Earl in his Treasons, so most of those who were in any Trust with the Earl, and so privy to the Grounds of the Counsels there, and only able to make those evident, were Impeach'd by the House of Commons in that Kingdom, "For endeavouring to subvert the Fundamen- "tal Laws of that Kingdom, and set up an Arbitra- "ry Power; which serv'd their Turn there to secure their

their Persons, and exclude 'em from Council, as it had done here.

What Seeds were then sown for the *Irish* Rebellion, by the extraordinary Favour that Committee found for their good Service against that Lord, shall be enlarged upon hereafter. Much time was spent in considering the Manner of the Trial, "Whether it should be in the House of Peers? Who should prosecute, Members appointed by the Commons, or the King's Council? Whether the Bishops should have Votes in the Trial? Whether those, who had been made Peers since the Impeachment was carry'd up, should be admitted as Judges? Whether the Commons should sit uncover'd at the Trial? And lastly, whether any Member should be examined at the Trial in behalf of the Earl, who had sent a List of some Names, and desired an Order to that purpose.

At length 'twas agreed, "The Trial should be in *Westminster-Hall*, where Seats should be built for the Reception of the whole House; and with much adoe they consented to sit uncover'd; that the Committee which prepared the Charge should prosecute, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*. For the Bishops, they took the Case to be so plain from an old Canon (the only one they allow'd for Orthodox) that *Clericus non debet interesse Sanguini*, that they were willing to refer that to the House of Peers; and that not upon any Assurance they had in the Matter it self, or in the Lords, the greatest part of whom always upon occasion dissented from their Designs, but that they had a sure Friend among the Bishops, who had engaged to free 'em from that Trouble.

They would not leave the other Point of the new Barons to their Lordships Inclinations, but peremptorily demanded, "That no Peer created since the Impeachment, because as Commoners they were

"COR.

“concern’d in making that Accusation, should sit as Judges at the Trial. As for the examining some Members on the Earl’s Behalf, “They left it to the choice of the Persons themselves that were nominated, to be examined if they pleas’d, (not without some sharp Animadversions that they should take care what they did) and so refus’d to enjoin them. The Lord Keeper being sick, the Earl of *Arundel*, notoriously disaffected to the Earl of *Straford*, was chosen to preside in the Court. And the Bishop of *Lincoln* saved ’em the Labour of giving any Rule concerning the Bishops, for he moved on the Behalf of himself and his Brethren, that being Ecclesiastical Persons, and so not to be concern’d in Blood, they might be excus’d from being at the Trial. This Bishop had been, by divers Censures in the Star Chamber, committed to the Tower, and was at the Beginning of this Parliament set at Liberty, at the Desire of the Lords who knew him an irreconcilable Enemy to the Arch-Bishop; indeed he was so far a Puritan as to love none of the Bishops. The next Day after he came to the House (where he had promised to do the King great Service, if he might have his Liberty) the Lord *Say* made that Speech which he afterwards Printed, taking notice, “That he was represented by the Arch-Bishop as a “Sectary; which no Body can doubt that reads that Speech; yet he had no sooner done, than the Bishop of *Lincoln* rose, and made a large Harangue in his Praise, and profess’d, “He always took his Lordship to be as far from a Sectary as himself. And when he found the Commons to be desirous to be freed from the Bishops Voices in that Trial, he never left terrifying ’em with the Censure that hung over their Heads for the Canons, till he had persuaded ’em to ingratiate themselves, by asking to be excused in that Matter, before an Order should come for their Absence.

This



This Example was follow'd by some Lords who had been created since the Accusation, and amongst the rest the Lord *Littleton*, tho' he had profess'd, if he were a Peer, he wou'd (as indeed he cou'd) have done him signal Service, for which Reason he was at that Earl's Desire made a Baron. But they who insisted upon their Right (as the Lord *Seymour* and others) exercised the same Power throughout as any of the other Lords, and so no doubt might the Bishops too if they wou'd; and it may be their voluntary, unjust, and unreasonable quitting it then, made many Men less careful in the Defence of their Right afterwards. But of that in its proper Place.

All things being thus prepared and settled, the Trial began on *Monday* the 22d of *March*, 1640. The Trial began Mar. 22. 1640. The Lords in their Robes sat in the midst of the Hall, the Commoners with the *Scotch* and *Irish* Commissioners on each side, and in a close Box made at a very convenient distance for Hearing, the King and Queen sat unobserv'd: His Majesty out of Kindness and Curiosity, desiring to hear whatever cou'd be alledged. For which I believe he was afterwards sorry, when his being present at the Trial was urged as an Argument for passing the Bill.

The Charge being read, and an Introduction made The Charge against him by Mr. *Pym*, in which he call'd him *The wicked Earl*; some Member of the House, being a Lawyer, apply'd and urg'd the Evidence with all manner of Bitterness; which reproachful way of Carriage was much approved of, and Mr. *Palmer*, one of the Managers, irrecoverably lost all his Credit with 'em, for using a modest Decency towards him, tho' the Weight of his Arguments affected the Earl more than the Clamor of all the rest. The Trial held eighteen Days, in which "All the hasty Words he had dropp'd at any time, since he was first made Privy-Counselor; all his Acts of Passion or Power exercised in *Yorkshire*, from his first being made President of "the

“the North; his Monopolizing Flax and Tobacco  
 “in *Ireland*, and billeting Soldiers there; his high  
 “Proceeding against the Lord *Mountnorris*, and Chan-  
 “cellor *Loflus*; and lastly, some Expressions utter’d  
 “in secret Council in this Kingdom, after the Dis-  
 “solution of the last Parliament, were urged against  
 him, to make good the general Charge of “A De-  
 “sign to subvert the Fundamental Government of the  
 “Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power.

*His De-  
 fence.*

The Earl made his Defence with great appearance  
 of Humility and Submission, but yet with a Cou-  
 rage that wou’d slip no Advantage, answering this  
 with all imaginable Dexterity, and evading that with  
 all possible Skill and Eloquence, leaving nothing un-  
 said that might make for his own Justification.

For what related to *Ireland*, he complain’d much  
 “That by an Order from the Committee appointed  
 “to prepare his Charge against him, all his Papers  
 “in that Kingdom, by which he should make his  
 “Defence, were seized together with all his Goods,  
 “Plate and Tobacco, (amounting, as he said, to  
 “80000 Pound) so that he had not wherewithal to  
 “subsist in Prison. That those who could have giv-  
 “en the best Evidence on his Behalf, were impri-  
 “soned under the Charge of Treason; yet he pro-  
 “fess’d he had not swerv’d from his Instructions,  
 “nor the Rules and Customs observ’d by other De-  
 “puties. That the Monopolies of Flax and Tobac-  
 “co were for the good of the Kingdom, and his  
 “Majesty’s Benefit; the former establishing a most  
 “advantageous Trade, and the latter bringing a Re-  
 “venue of above 40000 *l.* to the Crown, improv-  
 “ing Trade, and bringing no Damage to the Sub-  
 “ject. The billeting of Soldiers, and exercising  
 “Martial Law, had been always practis’d by former  
 “Governors; as he proved by the Confession of the  
 Earl of *Cork*, and Lord *Wilmot*, neither of which de-  
 fired to say more in his Behalf than of necessity they  
 were

were obliged to. However he said, "If it were "Treason, 'twas so only in *Ireland*, and therefore "he could not be tried for it here.

For the several Words and Discourses wherewith he was charged, he disowned many, and put a Gloss over others from the Reasons and Circumstances of the Debate. One Particular, which they very much insisted on, tho' it had been spoken twelve Years before, that he should publickly say in *York*, "The "little Finger of the Prerogative should be heavier "than the Loins of the Law, he quite inverted, and made appear by two or three Persons of Credit, that he said, "The little Finger of the Law was heavier "than the Loins of the Prerogative.

He made the weakest Excuse for those two Acts against the Lord *Mountnorris* and the Chancellor, which indeed manifested a Nature excessively imperious, and questionless raised a greater Dislike in sober unprejudiced People, than all had been alledged against him. One *Annesley*, Kinsman to *Mountnorris*, and a Servant to the Earl, had by Accident, or Negligence, suffered a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot, whilst he was in a Fit of the Gout, (of which he often laboured) who enraged at the Pain, struck *Annesley* with a small Cane. This being merrily spoken of at a Table, where the Lord *Mountnorris* was at Dinner, he answered, "The Gentleman had "a Brother that would not have taken such a Blow; and this coming sometime after to the Deputy's Ears, he caused his Lordship, being an Officer of the Army, to be tried at a Council of War, "For moving Sedition, and stirring up the Soldiers against "the General. The Words being proved, he lost his Office (being Vice-Treasurer) and his Foot-Company, was committed to Prison, and sentenced to lose his Head. He had afterwards a Pardon, with a Discharge for his Life; but the rest of the Sentence was fully put in Execution.

The



The Earl shifted the Rigour and Severity of the Sentence from himself, and laid it upon the Council of War, where he himself not only "Forbore to be present, but forbid his Brother, who was an Officer of the Army, to stay there; and conjured the Court to proceed without any Regard to him. And when he understood the Judgment of the Council, which was unanimous, he declared publickly, "He should not lose a Hair of his Head; and immediately procured a Pardon from his Majesty. He concluded, "That the Lord Mountnorris was an Insolent Person, and that what was done, was to humble him; and should be well content, if the same Course was taken to reform him, provided it proved no more to his Detriment, than the other had been to that Lord.

But the Standers by excused him in another Manner. "The Lord Mountnorris, by his Industry and Activity, raised himself from a low Condition (having been an inferior Servant to the Lord Chichester) to the Degree of a Viscount, Privy-Counsellor, and a large Income in Lands and Offices. By his servile Flatteries he always worked himself into a Warmness of Trust with the Deputies at their first Admission to the Government, informing 'em of the Defects and Oversights of their Predecessors; and whenever their Office determined, and they returned into England, he advertised the State, and those Enemies they had contracted in that time, of all their Misdemeanors, whereby they were sure to meet with either Disgrace or Damage, whenever they were recalled. In this manner he begun with the Lord Chichester, his own Master, and continued it to the Lords Grandison and Falkland; and upon that Account obtained Admission and Trust with the Earl of Strafford; so that this Dilemma seemed unanswerable, either the Deputy of Ireland, whilst he

"is

"is such, must destroy the Lord *Mountnorris*, or  
 "my Lord *Mountnorris* will destroy him as soon  
 "as his Commission is determined. This Consideration (besides he was a Man of no Virtue) made many look with more Unconcern upon the Act, than the Matter it self deserved.

The Lord Chancellor's Case seemed an Act of less Violence, because it reached not to Life; and that which was ill in it, rose from a nobler Root than the other. The Endeavour was, to force the Lord Chancellor to settle more of his Land upon his Eldest Son than he thought fit, or could in Law be compelled to. This the Earl, upon a Paper Petition presented him by that Son's Wife (the Earl's great Esteem for whom made his Justice the more suspected) urged, and at length ordered him to do. The Chancellor refused, was thrown into Prison, and the great Seal, which he had kept with great Reputation of Ability for above twenty Years, was taken from him. In managing this Charge, several affectionate Letters, sent from the Earl to that Lady, and found in her Closet after her Death, were exposed, rather to call his Gravity and Discretion in question, than that they were any way material to the Business in Hand.

The Earl said little more to it, than that he hoped, what Passion or Injustice soever was found in that Affair, there would be no Treason; and since upon an Appeal from the Lord Viscount *Ely*, the degraded Chancellor, it had been reviewed by his Majesty in Council, and confirmed, he had Reason to believe what he had done was very just.

That which was most solemnly and with the highest Expectation alledged, was a Discourse of the Earl's in the Cabinet-Council at the Dissolution of the last Parliament. Sir *Harry Vane*, Secretary of State, gave in Evidence, "That the King at that  
 "time asked 'em, Since he had failed of the Sup-  
 "ply,

“ply, what Course he was next to take? And that the Earl answered, “Sir, you have done your Duty; “and your Subjects have been wanting in theirs; “You are therefore no longer restrained by the “Rules of Government, but may supply your self “by extraordinary Ways; pursue the War with Vi- “gour; you have an Army in *Ireland*, with which “you may reduce *England*.

The Earl of *Northumberland* being examined, re- member’d only, that the Earl said, “You have done “your Duty, and are absolved from the Rules of “Government; but nothing of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom. The Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and Lord *Cot- tington*, declared upon Oath, “That they heard the “Earl speak none of those Words. And these were the only Men present at that Debate, except the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *Windebank*, neither of which could be examined, or would be believed.

The Earl peremptorily denied the Words; and observed, “That not one of the other Witnesses, “who being present, were as like to remember what “was spoke as the Secretary, heard a Syllable of the “*Irish* Army, or reducing this Kingdom. That “had he spoken ’em, they must be understood of “*Scotland*, for which that Army was known to be “raised, and not of *England*. That if they were “spoken, as positively denied, yet were they not “Treason; and if they were Treason, one Witness “was not sufficient to prove it, and that there was “but one,

*The Earl concludes his Defence.*

The Earl having defended himself for seventeen Days with wonderful Dexterity and Ability, con- cluded, “That if the whole Charge (in which he “hoped their Lordships were satisfied of his Loy- “alty and Integrity, how great soever his Infirmi- “ties might be) was proved, yet did not that make him



“him guilty of High-Treason; and therefore de-  
 “fired his Council might be heard, and earnestly  
 “conjured ’em, for their own Sakes not to create a  
 “Precedent prejudicial to the Peerage of *England*,  
 “and wound themselves through his Side out of  
 “Displeasure to his Person; which hath been own’d  
 for good Counsel, tho’ too late.

The House of Peers having assigned him such *Council*  
 Council, as he desired to assist him in matter of Law, *heard in*  
 (a Privilege due to the most scandalous Felon, Mur- *Matters*  
 derer, or Traitor) the House of Commons observed, *of Law.*  
 somewhat unskilfully, with great Passion and Dislike,  
 “That such a Thing should be done without their  
 “Consent; as if the Judge was to be directed by  
 the Prosecutor how to proceed and determine: O-  
 thers, inveighing against the Arrogance of those  
 Lawyers, that presumed to be of Council with a  
 Person, whom they had accused of High-Treason,  
 moved, “They might be proceeded against for that  
 “Contempt: Whereas the Honour and Duty of their  
 Profession obliged ’em to it, and they had been punish-  
 able, had they refused to submit to the Lords Or-  
 ders. The Matter was too gross to deserve any  
 publick Order; and so the Debate ended; but serv-  
 ved (and questionless it was intended it should) to  
 let those Gentlemen know, how warily they were to be-  
 have themselves, lest the Anger of that terrible  
 Body should be kindled against ’em.

But I never heard it made any Impression upon  
 ’em; I am sure it did not upon Mr. *Lane*. The  
 Matters he principally insisted on were these.

*First*, “That the Wisdom and Tenderneſs of for- *Mr. Lane’s*  
 “mer Parliaments, knowing how dangerous it would *Argu-*  
 “prove to the Subject, to leave the Nature of Treason *ments for*  
 “unlimited, have particularly defined it in the Sta- *him.*  
 “tute of 25 *Edw. III. De Proditionibus*. And that  
 “no Words or Actions in any Part of the Earl  
 K “of

“of *Strafford's* Charge could amount to Treason  
“within that Statute.

*Secondly*, “That by Reason of a Clause in that  
“Statute, of declaring Treason in Parliament, divers  
“Actions were declared such, to the great Prejudice of  
“the Subject, in the time of *Richard* the II, and  
“therefore it was specially enacted in the first Year  
“of *Henry* IV. that nothing should be adjudged  
“Treason, but what was ordained in that Statute,  
“which took away all Power of declaring new Treas-  
“ons in Parliament.

*Thirdly*, “That the Foundation of the Impeach-  
“ment was Erroneous. For that an Endeavour to  
“subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land by Force  
“attempted, is only made Felony, by a Statute in  
“the 1<sup>st</sup> of *Q. Mary*; which is likewise expired.  
“That Cardinal *Wolsey*, in the 33 of *Henry* VIII.  
“was indicted only of a *Praemunire*, for attempting  
“to introduce the Imperial Laws into this Realm.

*Lastly*, “If any thing was urged against the Earl,  
“which might be penal to him, it was not legally  
“proved; for by a Statute 1 *Edward* VI. No Man  
“ought to be arraigned, indicted, or condemned of  
“any Treason, — unless upon the Evidence of two  
“lawful sufficient Witnesses; and if it be for Words,  
“within three Months after they were spoken, if  
“the Party be within the Kingdom: Whereas there  
“was no more than Sir *Harry Vane* in this Case, and  
“the Words spoken six Months before.

The Case being thus stated, all Men stood ex-  
pecting the Judgment of the Lords, in whom the  
sole Power of Judicature was conceived to be vested;  
the House of Commons having declared, that they  
designed to make no Reply to Mr. *Lane's* Argument  
of Law, conceiving it below their Dignity, to con-  
tend with a private Lawyer. Indeed they had a  
more effectual Way now to proceed by; for the  
next Day Sr. *Arthur Haslerigg*, (Brother-in-Law to  
the

the Lord *Brook*) a bold Man, Mr. *Pym*'s Disciple, and so imployed by that Party to make any Attempt, brought in a Bill "For the Attainder of the Earl "of *Strafford* of High-Treason: It being observed, that what the Earl had said for himself, both in Matter of Fact, and Matter of Prudence, of the Consequence of such an extraordinary Proceeding, and what had been offer'd in his Behalf in Point of Law, most sober Men, tho' no Friends to the Earl's Person, were not satisfied in the Justice of the Impeachment, nor in the Method of the Prosecution; and therefore that the House of Peers were not like to take upon them the Burden of such a Judgment as was expected.

The Bill was received with great Chearfulness, and immediately read the first and second time, and so committed. Those who consented at first for no other Reason, but because they were only to accuse, the Lords to judge, were now as ready to be Judges, thinking, "They had gone too far to start "back.

A Day or two before this Bill was brought in, there was a very extraordinary Passage, of which the Pretence was, "That several concurring Circumstances should make one Witness as effectual as "two: Tho' I believe it was really directed to an End very different from what was proposed. The Words by which the Treason was to be proved against the Earl, were supported by no more than Sir *Harry Vane*'s single Testimony, and the Law was positive, "That less than two Witnesses ought not "to be received in Cases of Treason.

To give therefore this single Evidence the Strength of two, Mr. *Pym* informed the House, "That some "Months before the sitting of this Parliament he "had visited Young Sir *Harry Vane*, newly recovered from an Ague, and being condoling the sad "Condition of the Kingdom, by Reason of the many unlawful Taxes, Sir *Harry* told him, he had among



"some of his Father's Papers accidentally met  
 "with a Scheme of what Counsels were like to be fol-  
 "lowed to the Ruin of the Kingdom, which, if he  
 "would call upon him the next Day, he would shew  
 "him. And the next Day accordingly he showed  
 "him a little Paper of his Father the Secretary's own  
 "writing, in which was particularized the Day of  
 "the Month, and the Result of the Cabinet-Coun-  
 "cil upon the Dissolution of the last Parliament,  
 "with several Hieroglyphicks to express the Names  
 "of those, by whom the several Discourses relating  
 "thereunto were made. The Matter was of so ex-  
 "traordinary a Nature, that he desired by all means  
 "a Copy of it, which the Young Gentleman, upon  
 "Mr. *Pym's* Assurance, that it was of a high Con-  
 "sequence to the Kingdom, a little unwillingly, for  
 "fear it might prove prejudicial to his Father, con-  
 "sented to. That he had carefully kept the Copy  
 "by him, without imparting it to any one, 'till the  
 "beginning of this Parliament, which he conceived a  
 "proper Time to make Use of it; and that then, be-  
 "ing convinced by many other Instances, of the Earl's  
 "ill Affection to the Kingdom, it satisfied him to  
 "to move all that he had moved against that great  
 "Person.

Then he read the Paper in his Hand, in which  
 the Day of the Month was set down, and the King  
 to be present, and the Question thus to be stated,  
 "What was now to be done, since the Parliament  
 "had refused a Supply for the War against *Scotland*?  
 There was then written two *LL's*, and a *t* over, and an  
*I* and an *r*, which was urged, "Could mean nothing  
 "but Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. And the Words writ-  
 ten and applied to that Name, were "Absolved  
 "from Rules of Government — Prosecute the  
 "War vigorously — An Army in *Ireland* to  
 "subdue this Kingdom; which was said "Compre-  
 "hended the Substance of the Earl's Speech and Ad-  
 "vice.

"vice. Before those Letters, which were order'd to signify the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, were an *ABC* *G*, which might imply *the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his Grace*; and at those Letters some sharp Expressions against Parliaments, and fierce Advice to the King. Next in the Paper was a *M* with a *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be understood for Marquis *Hamilton* who was *Master of the Horse*, and the Words apply'd thereunto were something rough, but without a Supplement signified nothing. Then follow'd an *L* an *H* and an *A*, interpreted to be *Lord High Admiral*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, to which were annex'd a few Words implying Advice to the King "To be advis'd by his Parliament. Then there was *L<sup>d</sup> Cott.* (which was easily made to signify *the Lord Cottington*) with some Words as virulent as those apply'd to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

When he had read that Paper, he added, that "Those Circumstances of his, and young Sir *Harry Vane's* having seen the Original Results, and being "ready to swear that what he had read was a true "Copy of the other, might reasonably bear the Weight "of another Witness; that the other Counsellors concern'd in that Writing would not remember for "their own sakes, and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the best in the Pack, cou'd remember some of the Words of an high nature, tho' he "had forgotten the rest.

Mr. *Pym* having ended, young Sir *Harry*, in some seeming Disorder confess'd all the other had said, and added, "That his Father being with the King in "the North, had sent up his Keys, and written to "him, that he should open his Boxes where Writings and Evidences of his Land were, that he "might cause an Assurance that concern'd his Wife "to be perfected; which having done, he had the "Curiosity to see what was in a red Velvet Cabi-

"net that stood with the other Boxes, and having  
 "open'd it, he found among others that Paper men-  
 "tioned by Mr. *Pym*, which made such an Impres-  
 "sion in him, that he cou'd not but communicate  
 "it to him, as a Person of better Judgment than him-  
 "self. He said, he knew this Discovery would lose  
 "him very much in his Father's Opinion, but hav-  
 "ing been influenc'd by the Tenderness of his Con-  
 "science toward his common Parent, his Country,  
 "to trespass against his natural Parent, he hoped he  
 "should find Compassion from that House, tho' he  
 "had little Hopes of Pardon elsewhere.

The Son had no sooner done, but the Father rose  
 with a pretty Confusion, and said, "The Ground  
 "of his Misfortune, and the Interrogatories with  
 "which he had been so often press'd, was now di-  
 "scover'd; but the Person that was guilty of his  
 "Misfortunes, he said, should bear his Share in 'em  
 "too. That it was true, being in the North with  
 "the King, and that unlucky Son of his having  
 "married a virtuous Lady, (Daughter to a worthy  
 "Member then present) to whom there was some-  
 "what in Justice and Honour due, which was not  
 "sufficiently settled; he had sent his Keys to his  
 "Secretary, and order'd him to let his Son look af-  
 "ter what Evidences were necessary, by which  
 "means those Papers had been perus'd which had  
 "created him much of this Trouble. That for his  
 "part, after the King had called the Parliament, he  
 "had acquainted his Majesty, that he had a great  
 "many Papers in his Hands of such Transactions as  
 "were like to be of no further use, and therefore  
 "with his Majesty's Leave he would burn them,  
 "lest by Accident they might fall into some Hands  
 "that wou'd make but an ill Use of 'em; to which  
 "his Majesty consenting, he burnt many, and among the  
 "rest the Papers in question, of which that which was  
 "read was pretended a Copy: That to the Particu-  
 "lars



“lars he cou’d add nothing more, than what he had  
“expres’d upon his Examination, which he wou’d  
“not deny to be exactly true, tho’ by what he had  
“heard that Afternoon, (which very much surpris’d  
“and amaz’d him) he found himself in an ill Con-  
“dition upon that Testimony.

This Scene was so well acted between the Father and Son, that many Speeches were made in Praise of the Conscience, Integrity and Merit of the Young Man, and a Motion made, “That the House wou’d en-  
“join the Father to be Friends with his Son; but for some time there was a great Distance observ’d in Publick between ’em.

How unnecessary and ridiculous soever the Relation of this Story might appear at that time to the World, and how scandalous and inconvenient to the Father and the Son, some believ’d that this Occasion was taken to publish those Results, (according to the Stratagems used by that Party to compass their own Ends) only to give the Lord *Cottington* notice in what Danger he was, unless he wisely quitted the Mastership of the Wards to the Lord *Say*, who expected it. Tho’ without doubt the true Reason was, that they found it impossible to conceal their having receiv’d their chief Information from the Secretary, by reason some of the Committee who were entrusted to prepare the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, and were consequently privy to the Secret, were fallen from ’em, and therefore they thought fit to make this Intelligence publick, that it might be rather imputed to the Conscience and Curiosity of the Son, than the Malice of the Father.

The Bill of Attainder pass’d the House of Commons in a few Days, tho’ some able Lawyers declared there was no Pretext in Law to judge him guilty of High-Treason; and the Lord *Digby* (who from the beginning was of the Committee for the Prosecution, and had more Prejudice than Kindness

*The Bill  
pass’d in a  
few Days.*

to the Earl) declared in a very pathetic Speech;  
 "That he cou'd not assent to the Bill, both for that  
 "he was unsatisfied in point of Law, and more in  
 "matter of Fact, the Words upon which the Im-  
 "peachment was founded being so far from being  
 "proved by two Witnesses, that he cou'd not allow  
 "it to be one; for Sir *Harry Vane* upon his first Ex-  
 "amination denied that the Earl spoke those Words,  
 "at his second remember'd some, and at his third  
 "the rest: And thereupon recounted many Circum-  
 stances, and made many severe Observations upon what  
 had pass'd, which none but one of the Committee  
 cou'd have done; for which he was questioned in  
 the House, but defended himself so well, and so much  
 to the Disadvantage of those who were concern'd,  
 that from that time they pursued him upon all Oc-  
 casions with an implacable Rage and Malice. The  
 Bill pass'd with only fifty nine dissenting Voices;  
 and was immediately sent up to the Lords with this  
 Addition, "That the Commons would be ready  
 "the next Day in *Westminster-Hall*, to give their  
 "Lordships Satisfaction in the Matter of Law upon  
 "what had pass'd at the Trial.

The Earl was brought again the next Day to the  
 Bar; and Solicitor *Saint-John* argued for near the  
 space of an Hour the Matter of Law. Of the Ar-  
 gument it self I shall say but little, it being in ma-  
 ny Hands in Print; I shall only take notice of two  
 notable Propositions, which are sufficient Characters  
 of the Person and the Time. In answer to what  
 had been said on the Earl's Behalf in point of Law,  
 he averr'd to their Lordships, "That in the way of  
 "Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conscience  
 "was sufficient, tho' there had been no Evidence at  
 "all. And as to the pressing the Law he said, "It  
 "was true we give Laws to Hares and Deer, because  
 "they are Beasts of Chase; but to knock Foxes or  
 "Wolves on the Head was never thought foul Play,  
 "because

"because they were Beasts of Prey. In a Word, the Law and the Humanity were a-kin, the one being more fallacious, and the other more barbarous, than in any Age had been ever publish'd in such an Auditory.

The same Day, the better to influence the Lords to pass the Bill, the Names of the fifty nine dissenting Members were written on Parchment or Paper, under this Superscription, *STRAFFORDIANS*, or Enemies to their Country, and those Papers fix'd upon the most visible Places about the City; which was as destructive a Violation of the Privileges and Freedom of Parliament as can be imagined; yet when Complaint was made of it to the House, no Countenance was given to it, or any Care taken for the Discovery.

*The Names of the Dissenting Members exposed under the Title of Straffordians.*

The Persons who still conducted the Designs found their Friends abroad were not well satisfied with them, for their want of Zeal in point of Religion; that tho' they had branded as many of the Bishops, and their Party, as came in their way, yet nothing was in Forwardness to be done towards lessening their Jurisdiction, or indulging any of that Liberty to their weak Brethren, which from the beginning had been expected from them. But the Truth is, they who made in their Hearts the most pernicious Vows against the Church, never durst impart their bloody Wishes to their best Friends, whose Authority gave 'em the greatest Credit; for besides that their own Clergy were far from being of one mind, in the Matter or Manner of what they wish'd should be alter'd, there was less Consent among their Lay Friends than amongst the other.

The Earl of *Bedford* was against any Alteration in the Government of the Church, had always liv'd with great Respect and Reverence towards my Lord of *Canterbury* himself; subscrib'd liberally towards the Repair of *Paul's*; tho' 'tis true, he did not publickly



likely discountenance those of the Clergy that were unconformable.

The Earl of *Essex* was rather displeas'd with the Person of the Arch-Bishop, and some other Bishops, than indevoted to the Function. He was as much inclined to the Common-Prayer as any Man; his Household Chaplain being always a most conformable Man, and a good Scholar. In truth, in the House of Peers there were only the Lord *Say* and *Brook* observed, as declared Enemies to the whole Fabrick of the Church, and who desired a Dissolution of that Government.

In the House of Commons, tho' Mr. *Fiennes*, young Sir *Harry Vane*, and shortly after Mr. *Hambden*, were believ'd to be for Root and Branch, yet Mr. *Pym* was of another mind; so Mr. *Hollis* and the Northern Men, and those Lawyers who drove on most furiously with 'em, were well pleas'd with the Government of the Church.

The first Design against the Church, that met with any visible Approbation in the House, even amongst those who were of different Principles and Purposes, was a short Bill "To take away the Bishops "Votes in Parliament, and leave 'em out of all Com- "missions of the Peace, or what had any Relation to "Temporal Affairs; and this was countenanc'd more especially by all the popular Lords in the House of Peers, who observ'd, "They seldom carry'd any thing "directly opposite to the King's Interest, by reason "of the Number of Bishops; and they believ'd if "the Bishops had fewer Diversions from their Spi- "ritual Charges, the Church wou'd thrive the bet- "ter for it.

The Argument they used in the House of Commons, to prevail with some who earnestly desir'd the Bishops might suffer no such Diminution of their Honour and Authority, was, "That the *Scots* were "so resolutely engaged in a Combination with the "gene-

“generality of the People, against the Government  
“of the Church, that if the Bishops were not dis-  
“carded their Army would never march out of the  
“Kingdom; but if this Bill were once pass’d, so many  
“in both Houses would be so well satisfied, that the  
“violenter Party would never be able to pursue their  
“Designs. This prevail’d over Men of excellent  
Judgment, and unquestionable Affections; and there-  
fore when the Bill was brought into the House they  
express’d their Desire that it might pass, when others  
thought they wou’d have oppos’d it.

There was a Difference in Opinion, at this De-  
bate, between two Members, who had been never  
known but to Vote of a Side; and their mutual  
Friendship was very remarkable; which administer’d  
much Pleasure to very many who cared for neither  
of ’em. When the Bill was put to the Question,  
Mr. *Hyde* (who from the beginning had appeared  
an Enemy to it) was very earnest for the throwing  
it out, and said, “That from the Time that Parlia-  
“ments begun, Bishops had always been a Part of  
“it. That if they were taken out there was no Bo-  
“dy left to represent the Clergy, which wou’d intro-  
“duce another Piece of Injustice, no other Part of  
“the Kingdom cou’d complain of, who being all re-  
“presented in Parliament, were bound to submit to  
“whatever was enacted there, because it was upon  
“the matter with their own Consent; whereas, if  
“the Bill was carried, there was no Body left to re-  
“present the Clergy, and yet they must be bound  
“by their Determination. When he had done, the  
Lord *Falkland*, who always sat next to him (which  
was so much observ’d, that if they came not in to-  
gether, as they usually did, every Body left the  
Place for him that was absent) stood up, and declar-  
ed, “He was of another Opinion, and that he never  
“heard the Constitution of the Kingdom would be vi-  
“olated by the passing that Act; and that he had heard  
“many

“many of the Clergy protest, that they could not own themselves represented by the Bishops; but if that could be made appear, it was to be presumed, the House of Peers, (among whom they sat, and had yet their Votes) would throw it out; and so facetiously answering some other Particulars, he concluded “For passing the Act.

The House was so wonderfully pleased to see the two inseparable Friends divided in so important a Point, that they could not restrain from a kind of Rejoicing; and the more because they saw Mr. *Hyde* much surprized; as indeed he was; having never discovered the least Inclination in the other towards such a Compliance; and therefore they flatter’d themselves, that they might in time work the Lord *Falkland* to a further Compliance with them. But in this they were very much disappointed; for there was not the least Interruption in the Friendship between those two: So when the same Argument came again to be debated, about six Months after, the Lord *Falkland* having changed his Opinion, gave ’em all the Opposition he could, nor was he reserved in confessing “He had been deceived by Mr. *Hambden*, “who had assured him, That if the Bill might pass, “there would be no farther Attempts in Prejudice “to the Church, which, as the World then went, “he thought, would be no hard Bargain.

When this Bill was carried up to the House of Lords, many of the greatest Men of that House, who began to grow weary of the Empire the Leaders in the House of Commons had exercised over ’em, and others, who had held with ’em; observing they had worse Designs in view than they owned, fell from ’em, and took the Opportunity of discovering themselves upon the Debate of this Bill, against which they declaimed with great Bitterness; and blamed the House of Commons “For presuming to meddle with an Affair that so immediately  
“con-



“concerned themselves; that if they might send up a  
“Bill this Day, to take one whole Class out of their  
“House at once, they might to Morrow by another  
“Cut off the Barons, or some other Degree of the  
“Nobility. These and other Arguments were urged  
with a Warmth and Vigour they had not before  
expressed; in so much, as, tho’ the other Party, who  
had never been before withstood, set up their Rest  
upon carrying it: Yet, notwithstanding all they  
could alledge in Behalf of the Bill, the House could  
not be prevailed with so much as to commit it, but  
threw it quite out upon a second Reading.

This cast such a Damp upon the Spirits of the governing Party in both Houses, that they were at a Stand; they were not now sure they should be able to carry any thing, for the major part, that threw out this Bill, might oppose ’em in any thing they went about; besides the Influence it would have in the House of Commons, and elsewhere; for they well knew a great many follow’d ’em, because it was believed they would carry all before ’em.

However, that their Spirits might not be thought to flag, and that the Bishops might see how little they had gotten by obstructing the other Bill, they prepared a very short one “For the utter extirpating  
“all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters: Which they  
persuaded Sir *Edward Deering*, a Man very averse to all their Designs, (but of Levity and Vanity, easily flattered by being commended) to present to the House.

*A Bill for  
extirpating  
Bishops,  
Deans, and  
Chapters.*

As soon as the Title of it was read, (which was almost as long as the Bill it self) it was moved with great Heat, “That the Bill it self might not be read; “that it was against the Customs and Rules of the  
“House, for any private Person to presume (without Leave first obtained) to bring in a new Act,  
“so much as to abrogate any old single Law; and  
“therefore that it was a high Presumption in that  
“Gen-

"Gentleman, without so much as a Motion that it  
 "it might be so, to offer a Bill that overthrew so  
 "many Acts of Parliament, and confounded the  
 "whole Temper of the Government; and therefore  
 "desired it might be rejected. The Gentleman made  
 many Excuses for his Ignorance in the Customs of  
 Parliament, that he had never read more than the  
 Title of the Bill, and was prevailed with by Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, who sat next to him, to deliver it.  
 Tho' many urged the Rejecting it, yet the other  
 Party, especially Solicitor *Saint-John*, (who in Truth  
 had drawn it) pressed violently for the Reading it;  
 so that at last it was read; and no Question being put  
 upon the first reading, it was laid by, and not called  
 for in a long time after: Many Men being persuaded  
 there was no Design to pursue it, but that it was  
 only preferred to express a Neglect towards the  
 Lords.

These Oppositions in the Lords House, and the  
 frequent Contradictions in the House of Commons,  
 had abated much of the Fury, which had hitherto  
 prevailed; and all Men earnestly desired the Armies  
 might be discharged: But no Progress could be made  
 in that, 'till the Earl of *Strafford's* Business was dis-  
 patch'd. The *Scots* were bound to gratifie their *En-  
 glish* Friends in that Particular. They who treated  
 for Promotions at Court, were solicitous to finish  
 that, as what would conclude all the rest: And the  
 King was resolved to move no farther in it, 'till he  
 might be secure of the Earl of *Strafford's* Life; which  
 being done, he would do any thing; and the Earl  
 of *Bedford*, who was indeed of more Authority with  
 the violent Men, than any one else, laboured very  
 earnestly in it.

Mr. *Hyde* going one Afternoon to a Place called  
*Pickadilly*, which was a fair House for Entertain-  
 ment and Gaming, where were an upper and low-  
 er Bowling-Green, resorted to by many of the best

Qua-

Quality, both for Exercise and Conversation. As soon as he came into the Ground, the Earl of *Bedford* came to him, and after some short Compliments told him, "He was glad he was come thither; for  
"there was a Friend of his in the lower Ground,  
"who stood in Need of his Counsel. He said,  
"This Business, concerning the Earl of *Strafford*,  
"was a Rock, upon which we should all split; and  
"that the Kingdom would be destroyed through  
"the Heat of the Parliament. That the King was  
"ready to do all they could ask, if they would  
"spare that Earl's Life. That his Majesty was satisfied, he had by his passionate Proceedings rendered himself useless to his Service for the future,  
"and was well content he should be banished, or imprisoned for his Life, as they should think fit.  
"That if by their own Judicatory they would take  
"his Death upon themselves, he would not interpose  
"any Act of his own Conscience, but since they declined that, and intended to proceed by an Act of  
"Parliament, to which he himself must be a Party,  
"that he could not with a safe Conscience ever give  
"his Royal Assent to it. Because having been present at the whole Trial, he had heard nothing  
"proved, by which he could believe he was a Traitor, either in Fact or Intention; and therefore his  
"Majesty earnestly desired of both Houses, they  
"would not bring him a Bill to pass, which in Conscience he neither could nor would consent to. The Earl continued, "That he did all he could to persuade his Friends, to decline their violent Prosecution, and be satisfied with the Remedy proposed  
"by the King; and that he should not despair  
"of Success, if the Earl of *Essex* could be persuaded to comply, who was hitherto very obstinate.  
"That he had left his Brother, the Earl of *Hertford*,  
"(that Day made a Marquis) walking with him in  
"the lower Ground; and he desired Mr. *Hyde* to  
"walk



“walk down thither, and endeavour to persuade the  
 “Earl to what was reasonable; which he was very  
 ready to do. Accordingly he found the Marquiss  
 and the Earl together; but the Marquiss, after a  
 short Salutation, departed, and left the other two a-  
 lone, which he did on Purpose. The Earl begun  
 merrily in telling him, “He had that Morning per-  
 “formed a Service, which he knew he did not in-  
 “tend; that by what he had said at the Confe-  
 “rence against the Court of *York*, (for Mr. *Hyde* had  
 been appointed Manager to desire the House of Peers  
 to concur with the Commons in a Bill for taking a-  
 way that Court, which they did accordingly) he had  
 “revived their Prejudice against the Earl of *Straf-*  
 “*ford*, so that he hoped they would now proceed in  
 “the Bill against him with Vigour; which was the  
 Effect, of which, he said, he was sure he had no  
 Mind to be the Cause. Mr. *Hyde* confessed, “He  
 “had indeed no such Purpose, and hoped somewhat  
 “he had said might put other Thoughts into ‘em,  
 “to proceed in another Method upon his Crimes.  
 “That he knew their having slept so long upon the  
 “Bill, proceeded from their Disagreement upon the  
 “Point of Treasons, which the longer they consi-  
 “dered, would administer the more Difficulties.  
 “But if that was declined, they should all agree, he  
 “had deserved so severe a Censure, as would abso-  
 “lutely deprive him of all Power, that might prove  
 “dangerous to the Kingdom, or mischievous to any  
 “to whom he was no Friend. He shook his Head,  
 and replied, “*Stone-dead hath no Fellow*. That if  
 “he were fined, and sentenced to be imprisoned du-  
 “ring Life, the King would presently grant him his  
 “Pardon and Estate, remit all his Fines, and give  
 “him his Liberty as soon as he had a Mind to re-  
 “ceive his Service, which would be as soon as the  
 “Parliament was ended: And when Mr. *Hyde* was  
 ready to answer him, the Earl told him familiarly,  
 “That

"That he had been tired that Afternoon upon that Argument, and therefore desired him to desist for the present; assuring him, he would be ready to confer with him upon that Subject at any other time.

Shortly after Mr. *Hyde* took an Opportunity to renew the Discourse, but found him upon his Guard; and tho' he gave Ear to all the other would say with great Patience, yet he was very concise in his Arguments, and seemed fixed in his Resolution; and when he was pressed, "How unjustifiable a thing it was for any Man, to do what his own Conscience persuaded him was sinful; that he knew him so well, that if he was not firmly satisfied of the Guilt of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King could never oblige him to give his Vote for that Bill; and therefore he admired how he could urge the King, to do an Act he declared so directly against his Conscience; that he neither cou'd nor wou'd give his Royal Assent to the Bill. The Earl answered with some Commotion, (as if indeed he was really of that Opinion himself) "That the King in Conscience was obliged to conform himself and Opinion to the Judgment and Conscience of his Parliament. A Doctrine newly maintained by their Divines, and of great Use in the Pursuit of their future Counsels.

Notwithstanding all this, the Bill had not that warm Reception in the House of Peers they expected; but after a second Reading depended long at a Committee, and it was believed now the formal Trial, and Way of Judicature was declined, the Bishops would not so stupidly (to say no more) exclude themselves from voting in a Law, which was to be an Act of Parliament.

But two Accidents about that time strangely contributed to the passing the Bill. The first, a Discovery of some Meetings and Discourses between

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some Persons nearly related to his Majesty's Service, and some Officers of the Army, concerning the high Proceedings of the Parliament, and some Expedients to reduce 'em to a better Temper; which was no sooner hinted to some of the leading Members, but the whole was shaped into a dangerous and bloody Design against the Government. The second, the suddain Death of the Earl of *Bedford*; of both which it will be necessary to say something, that we may see, from how little Accidents, and inconsiderable Circumstances, managed by the Art and Industry of those Men, the greatest Movements have been made towards the Confusion we have since laboured under.

*A Discovery of some Correspondence between the Court and some of the Principal Officers of the Army.*

Some Principal Officers of the Army, who were Members of the House, and had been caressed by the most popular Leaders there, and indeed had contributed more to their Designs, than consisted with their Duty, and the Trust reposed in 'em by the King, found themselves now not so particularly considered, as they at first expected, and that their Credit elsewhere, especially in the Army, began to decline; for that more Care was taken of the *Scottish* Army, than the King's, and yet the Parliament much depended upon their Interest in the Affections of the Army.

To redeem therefore what had been done amiss, and restore themselves to his Majesty's Favour, they bethought themselves how to dispose, or at least to pretend that they would dispose, the Army to some such Declaration of their Duty towards the King, as might make other Men despair of being able to make Use of it to his Prejudice; and for that Purpose had several Meetings with some of more immediate Trust in both their Majesties, by whom they might direct their Intentions to the King, and again receive his Royal Pleasure, how they should best de-



demean themselves for his Service. I never could learn from what was afterwards reported to the House, nor with those who were most conversant in that Design, there was any Thought of working farther upon the Army, than to prevent 'em from being made Use of, for the imposing unjust and unreasonable things upon the King; and all that the King ever agreed should be done by 'em, was, that as several Factious, Seditious Petitions had been procured from most Counties, and been presented to the Parliament, against the established Government of the Church, with some Clauses scandalous to the Government of the State too; so the Officers of the Army should subscribe a Petition, which was brought ingrossed for his Majesty's Approbation, before they would presume to recommend it to any for their Subscription.

It was addressed, *To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses in Parliament assembled.* And contained in Substance, "The Wants and Necessities the Army laboured under; that they were not only destitute of Pay, but Martial Discipline, yet had the Parliament been troubled with no Complaint, either from 'em, or against 'em. How much they were bound to thank God, that had inclined his Majesty's Heart so far to co-operate with the Wisdom of his Parliament in a happy Reformation in Church and State; in his Majesty's gracious Condescension to the important Demands of the Scots their Neighbours; in granting so free a Course of Justice upon all Delinquents; in removing all Grievances; and lastly, in that lasting Pledge of Security, the Bill of Triennial Parliament. That notwithstanding all these Acts of Grace in his Majesty, they heard certain pragmatistical Persons remained as mutinous as ever,

“and were still attempting new Diminutions upon  
 “his Majesty’s just Regalities; whom nothing else  
 “but a Subversion of the Government could satisfie.  
 “And tho’ they believed their Violence and Unrea-  
 “sonableness could have no Influence upon the Wis-  
 “dom and Justice of the Parliament; yet to their  
 “great Trouble and Disquiet, they heard those ill-  
 “affected Persons were back’d by the Multitude,  
 “who flock’d in Thousands together at their Call,  
 “and beset the Parliament and *Whitehal* it self. That  
 “therefore their humble Petition was, Such Dan-  
 “gers might be removed by a Punishment inflicted  
 “on the Ring-leaders; that in all Humility they of-  
 “fered themselves to wait upon his Majesty for the  
 “suppressing’em, and thereby vindicate the Nation, not  
 “only from precedent Innovations, but secure it for  
 “the future, which were likely to produce more dan-  
 “gerous Effects than the former.

This Petition, signed at the Bottom *C R.* as a  
 Token of his Majesty’s Allowance, was carried  
 down to the Army, and signed by some Officers.  
 But was suddainly quash’d, and no more heard of,  
 till the Discovery of the pretended Plot; of which  
 more in it’s proper Place.

The Meetings continued between the Officers of  
 the Army, and some Servants of his Majesty, to the  
 Purposes aforesaid; and others were by special Di-  
 rection introduced into those Councils, (all Persons  
 being bound by an Oath to Secrecy) for the better  
 executing what should be propos’d. At the first  
 Meeting, one of the Persons so admitted, after he  
 had heard “Their Design was only to observe and  
 “defend the Laws, that the King might not be com-  
 “pelled by the *Scots* Army or Arguments, to con-  
 “sent to the Alteration of the Government of the  
 “Church; nor by the Power of any discontented  
 “Persons, to submit to a Diminution of his just, le-  
 “gal

“gal Power; told ’em, “Those Resolutions would  
 “conduce little to his Majesty’s Service; that their  
 “only way was to march the Army directly up to  
 “*London*, and so far Aw the Parliament, as to make  
 “’em do what the King shou’d command. There  
 was not a Man in the Company that did not perfectly  
 abhor so odious a Proposition, but contented  
 themselves in making such Objections to it, as render’d  
 it foolish and impracticable, and so the Meeting  
 for that time broke up.

Whether the Author of this desperate Advice did it  
 only as a Bait, to draw an Opinion from others, (for he  
 bore a downright Malice to some of the Company)  
 or whether the Disdain to see his Counsel rejected,  
 and Fear lest it might be discover’d to his Disadvantage,  
 wrought upon him; I know not; but he immediately  
 discovered all, and more than all, to those  
 who pretended the greatest Care for the common  
 Good, intimating how surpris’d he was with the  
 Horror of the Design, and how faithful he was resolv’d  
 to be to the Common-wealth; yet at the same time  
 pretended an Abhorrence at Court to the Parliament  
 Proceedings, and offer’d, “To rescue the  
 “Earl of *Sirafford* from the Lieutenant of the Tower,  
 “as he should bring him to his Trial, and so  
 “enable him to escape.

The Discovery being thus made to the Earl of  
*Bedford*, the Lords *Say* and *Kimbolton*, and no doubt  
 communicated by them to their chief Associates; as  
 dangerous as the thing was afterwards represented to  
 be, the whole was not publish’d ’till three Months  
 after to the Houses, tho’ they made extraordinary  
 use of it by Parts, from the moment they receiv’d  
 the Secret; it being usual with ’em, when they found  
 the Heat of the House allay’d, to inflame ’em again  
 with some Discovery, or a Promise of a Discovery  
 of some strange Plot against themselves, which, tho’



upon Examination always vanish'd, yet, being apply'd in useful Articles of time, serv'd to alarm common Minds with Fears and Apprehensions, and so lead 'em to comply with those, who were like soonest to find Remedies for those Diseases, which they only could discover. And in this Progress they often met with strange Accidents for the Support of their Credit.

*The ill use  
made of it  
in the House  
of Com-  
mons.*

This Plot concerning the Army being discover'd at the End of the Earl of *Sirafford's* Trial, they for the present made no other use of it, than what might conduce to their Ends in that Business, reserving the rest for more necessary Seasons. Therefore when the Bill of Attainder was prefer'd, lest that great Work shou'd meet with any Interruption from Court, Mr. *Pym* one Day inform'd the House of Commons, "He had great Reason to fear there was at that time "as desperate a Design against the Parliament, as "had been in any Age; and he did not doubt, but "Persons of great Credit at Court were concern'd "in it: That some Officers had been treated with "in *London* to raise Men, under a Pretence they "shou'd go to *Portugal*, but that the *Portugal* Embassador knew nothing of it, and that he had given "no Person any Authority or Promise to that Purpose. That for the present he cou'd not impart to "em all Particulars, which might prevent a farther "Discovery; only advis'd a Message might be sent "to the Lords, to desire 'em to appoint a Committee to examin such Witness as should be offer'd, "to discover a Plot against the Parliament, and in "the mean time that they would join in a Message "to the King, and desire his Majesty would forbear "granting Passes for a few Days to any of his Servants to go beyond Sea; for he believ'd some Mens "Consciences would tempt 'em to make an Escape, "when they heard of this Examination.

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All this was done according to his Desire; but in the mean time some Persons, whom such an Examination might effect, not knowing how much more than the Truth had been discover'd, or what Interpretation should be made of that which was the Truth, by Men who made Glosses and Comments as they pleas'd, resolv'd not to trust themselves with such Judges, (whose Method was first to imprison, and after at their leisure to examin) and so withdrew into *France*.

This gave great Credit to Mr. *Pym's* Vigilancy and Activity, for it now appear'd there was some extraordinary Mischief intended, since such eminent Men fled upon the Discovery. And in this Disorder and Trouble, some Men fearing according to other Men's Directions, the Bill of Attainder pass'd with more Ease in the House of Commons.

Having gotten thus much ground, Mr. *Pym* told 'em, "The Flight of these Eminent Men made it evident that his Information was true, and that his Fears were not groundless. He assur'd 'em, "God had wonderfully preserv'd 'em from a most prodigious Conspiracy, which they should shortly understand more at large. That tho' this Attempt was disappointed, yet he was afraid of some new Device carrying on; and therefore he propos'd, for a better Evidence of their Unanimity, that some Protestation might be enter'd into by the Members of both Houses, for the Defence of their Privileges, and the Discharge of their Duties to God and the King.

This was entertain'd with general Approbation, insomuch as they who enough apprehended the ill Designs of those who advanc'd it, and of the ill Consequence of such voluntary Protestations, chose rather to watch the Matter and the Words, than oppose the thing it self. After a long Debate, these

Words were agreed upon by a Committee appointed for that purpose, and offer'd to the House for the Protestation.

Upon this a  
Protestati-  
on is taken  
in both  
Houses.

“I A. B. do, in the Presence of Almighty God,  
“promise, vow, and protest, to Maintain and De-  
“fend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life,  
“Power and Estate, the true Reform'd Religion,  
“express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of Eng-  
“land, against all Popery or Popish Innovations with-  
“in this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine;  
“and according to the Duty of my Allegiance, his  
“Majesty's Royal Person, Honour and Estate; as  
“also the Power and Privileges of Parliament; the  
“lawful Right and Liberties of the Subject; and  
“every Person that maketh this Protestation, in  
“whatsoever he shall do in the lawful Pursuance of  
“the same: And to my Power, and as far as lawfully  
“I may, I will oppose, and by all good Ways  
“and Means endeavour to bring to condign Punish-  
“ment, all such as shall either by Force, Practice,  
“Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, do  
“any thing to the contrary of any thing in this pre-  
“sent Protestation contained: And further, that I  
“shall, in all just and honourable Ways, endeavour  
“to preserve the Union and Peace between the three  
“Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and  
“neither for Hope, Fear, or other Respect, shall re-  
“linquish this Promise, Vow and Protestation. This was  
immediately taken by the Speaker, and all the Mem-  
bers present; as likewise by all the Lords, except the  
Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts*, who pe-  
remptorily refus'd it, alledging, “There was no Law  
“that enjoin'd it, and the Consequence of such vo-  
“luntary Engagements, might produce Effects that  
“were not at first intended. Which without doubt  
was a wise Consideration, but not press'd in the  
House of Commons, for two Reasons; for that it  
was



was an Antidote, pretended to expel and discover the Poison of the Plot mentioned before; but especially, for that well affected Persons, who were fearful of nothing more than the Alteration of the Church-Government, thought they had restrain'd those rigid Reformers from any such Attempt, when they had once protested, "To Maintain and Defend the Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. There being no other Scheme of that Doctrine than the 39 Articles, one of which is, "To preserve the Government of the Church by Bishops.

Whereas the other Party was extreamly satisfied, with having an Oath of their own contriving to ensnare the People, (so like a Covenant by which their Neighbours had accomplish'd such extraordinary Matters) and upon which they could comment as they pleas'd, when there was occasion; as they did within two Days after, when some of 'em inform'd the House, "That several well-affected Persons apprehended, that if they should take that Protestation, they should thereby engage themselves to defend the Bishops, which their Conscience was against, and to which they hoped the House would not oblige 'em: Whereupon, without any great Opposition, (the House being thin, and they who were of a contrary Opinion imagining this Artifice would make 'em ridiculous to all sober Judgments) this following Order was made,

"Whereas some Doubts have been raised by several Persons out of this House, concerning the Meaning of those Words contained in the Protestation lately made by the Members of this House, "[viz. The true Reform'd Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, "against all Popery and Popish Innovations within  
"this

“this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine] the  
 “House doth declare, That by those Words was and  
 “is meant only, the Publick Doctrine professed in  
 “the said Church, so far as it is opposite to Pope-  
 “ry and Popish Innovations; and that the said  
 “Words are not to be extended to the maintaining  
 “of any Form of Worship, Discipline or Govern-  
 “ment, nor of any Rights or Ceremonies of the said  
 “Church of *England*.

This Explanation, so contrary to the Intentions of most that took it, without ever consulting with the House of Peers, they order'd “shou'd be Printed “and Publish'd; and that the Knights and Burgessees “shou'd send Copies thereof to the Counties and “Burroughs for which they serv'd, and intimate, “That as they did justifie the taking it themselves, “so they cou'd not but approve it in all such as “shou'd take it. Upon which Declaration their Emissaries among the Clergy caused it to be taken in *London*, and the Adjacent Parts within few Days after the Publication. And for their better Encouragement (tho' their Zeal wou'd not wait such Formalities) a Bill pass'd the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, to oblige all the Subjects to take it. The Success of this Bill, and the use they made afterwards of the Protestation, particularly what Influence it had upon the Earl of *Strafford's* Business, shall be remember'd in its proper place.

The other Accident, by which the Earl of *Strafford* receiv'd much Prejudice, was the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, who had the greatest Interest of any in the popular Party, and was besides of great Civility and good Nature. Infomuch as the King resolv'd to make him Treasurer, (as has been observ'd before) and the more to oblige him, at his Desire intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. *Hollis* Secretary of State, the Lord

*Say*

*Say* Master of the Wards, and the Lord *Kimbolton* Lord Privy-Seal, after the Death of his Father, who then had that Office.

The Earl of *Bedford* secretly undertook to his Majesty the Earl of *Strafford's* Life shou'd be preserv'd, and that his Revenue shou'd be settled as amply as any of his Progenitors; in which he was so sincere, that to my Knowledge he design'd to endeavour an Act for the setting up the Excise in *England*, as the only way to advance the King's Profit. He fell sick a Week after the Bill of Attainder was convey'd up to the Lord's House, and died shortly after, much afflicted with the Passion and Fury he saw his Party running into; insomuch as he declared to some of his Intimates, "That he feared the Mad-  
"ness of this Parliament wou'd do more Mischief to  
"the Kingdom, than ever any long Intermission of  
"Parliaments had brought upon it. He was a Wise Man, and wou'd have propos'd temperate Counsels, but for want of Resolution was not incapable of being carried into violent ones, if his Advice were not submitted to; and therefore some who knew him thought his Death rescued him as well from possible Guilt, as from those visible Misfortunes which Men of all Conditions have since labour'd under.

The Earl of *Bedford* being dead, the Lord *Say* (in hopes of the Treasurership) succeeded him in his Undertaking, and faithfully promis'd the King, "He shou'd not be press'd in the Matter of the Earl  
"of *Strafford's* Life; which promise got him Credit enough to persuade his Majesty to what he pleas'd; and thereupon advis'd him, whilst there was little suspicion the Bill wou'd pass the House of Lords, "To  
"go to that House, and send for the Commons, and  
"declare, he cou'd not with a safe Conscience ever  
"consent to the Bill, because he was not satisfied in  
"the Point of Treason: But he was so fully satisfied  
"the



“the Earl was unfit ever to serve him more, that  
 “he wou’d concur with ’em in any Act to make him  
 “incapable, for the future, of any Employment  
 “throughout his Majesty’s Dominions.

This Advice, upon the Lord *Say*’s Confidence, the King resolv’d to follow; but the Earl being acquainted with this Resolution, immediately sent his Brother to him, beseeching his Majesty, “By no means to pursue that Course, which wou’d prove very fatal to him; and therefore begg’d he might rely upon the Honour and Conscience of the Peers, without his Majesty’s Interposition. The King told his Brother, “Since he liked it not, he wou’d decline it, tho’ he had been advised to it by his best Friends. The Lord *Say* next Morning finding his Majesty’s Intention alter’d, told him, “If he follow’d the Counsel he gave him he cou’d not fail, if not, he cou’d not promise his Majesty what wou’d be the Issue, and should look on himself quit of any Engagement. The King conceiving him to be hearty in the Matter, went immediately to the House, and did as he had been advised. Whether that Lord did really believe the Discovery of his Majesty’s Conscience wou’d produce the end he propos’d, or gave his Advice treacherously to advance those Inconveniences which afterwards fell out, I know not; but many who believed his Will to be much worse than his Understanding, thought he design’d to betray his Master, and put the Earl’s Ruin out of Question.

Whatever it was, the Event prov’d fatal; the King was no sooner return’d, than the House of Commons in great Passion declared this last Act of his Majesty’s to be “the most unparallel’d Breach of  
 “Privilege ever heard of; that if his Majesty might  
 “declare his own Opinion of any Bills depending  
 “in either House, it was to fore-judge their Coun-  
 “fels,

“fels, and was the greatest Obstruction of Justice  
“imaginable; that they, and whosoever had taken  
“the late Protestation, were bound to stand by the  
“Privileges of Parliament, which were now too o-  
“penly invaded and violated.

The next Day Multitudes of People came down  
to *Westminster*, and throng'd about the House of  
Peers, exclaiming with great Outcries that they  
wou'd have Justice; professing aloud, “They wou'd  
“be govern'd and disposed by the Honourable House  
“of Commons, and would maintain their Privile-  
“ges according to their late Protestation. This In-  
solence and Sedition continued so many Days, 'till  
many Lords grew really fearful of having their Brains  
knock'd out, and absented themselves from the House;  
others seeing what Assistants the House of Com-  
mons were like to have to second all their Designs,  
changed their Minds; and so in an Afternoon, when  
of the fourscore who had been present at the Trial  
there were no more than six and forty in the House,  
(the good People still demanding at the Door, *Justice, Justice*)  
the Bill upon the Question was car-  
ry'd, eleven Lords only dissenting, and so was rea-  
dy for the King's Assent.

*The Bill of  
Attainder  
pass'd the  
House of  
Lords.*

The King continued as resolv'd as ever not to  
give his Consent, and therefore the same Oratory,  
which had been victorious at *Westminster*, waited on  
him at *Whitehal*, besieging the Place, and crying out  
*Justice, Justice, they would have Justice.* The Pri-  
vy-Council was summoned, to advise what Course  
was to be taken to suppress these Traiterous Riots,  
who instead of asserting their Master's Honour and  
Conscience from this infamous Violence and Con-  
straint, press'd the King to pass the Bill, as the on-  
ly way left to preserve himself and his Posterity, no  
one interposing his Opinion to support his Majesty's  
Magnanimity and Innocence; they who were of  
that

*Tumults  
about  
Whitehal.*

that mind, either suppressing their Thoughts through Fear, upon the Doctrine newly establish'd, "That no  
 "Man must dare to advise any thing there contrary to  
 "the Sense of both Houses. Others sadly believing,  
 the Force and Violence offer'd the King, would be  
 a just Excuse for whatever he should do before God  
 and Man.

His Majesty told 'em, "'Twas directly contrary  
 "to his Conscience, and being so he was sure they  
 "would not press him to't. To that Point they de-  
 fired him to consult his Bishops, who they made  
 no doubt would better inform his Conscience. The  
 Arch-Bishop of *York* was at his Elbow, who told  
 him "There was a private and a publick Conscience;  
 "that by his publick Conscience, as a King, he might  
 "stand obliged to do that, which was against his  
 "private Conscience, as a Man. That the Questi-  
 "on was not, Whether he should preserve the Earl  
 "of *Strafford*, but whether he should perish with  
 "him. That the Conscience of a King to preserve  
 "his Kingdom, of a Husband to preserve his Wife,  
 "of a Father to preserve his Children, was of more  
 "Weight than the Conscience of a Master or a Friend,  
 "in behalf of a Friend or Servant. With such igno-  
 minious, Unprelatical Arguments advising him, "E-  
 "ven for Conscience sake to pass the Bill.

Tho' the other Bishops did not behave themselves  
 with such prodigious Boldness and Impiety, yet they  
 forbore to fortifie and confirm a Conscience, upon  
 the Constancy and Piety of which, the Safety of  
 their Persons and Order did entirely, under God,  
 depend.

In the midst of these Perplexities, the Earl of  
*Strafford* observing what Straits the King was in,  
 the Rage of the People still increasing, and likely to  
 end in his certain Ruin; and it may be knowing of  
 a Design (and such a Design there was) by a great  
 Man



Man that had then a Command in the Tower, "That if the King persisted in his Refusal, he would "have his Head stricken off in the Tower, to free "the Nation from the Danger it seemed to be in; writ a most pathetic Letter to his Majesty, full of Acknowledgments of his Favours, but lively representing "the Dangers with which himself and his "Posterity was threaten'd, by his Perseverance in "em. Conjuring him no longer to defer his Assent to the Bill, but by his Death free the Kingdom from the Troubles it apprehended. Upon the Delivery of this Letter new Arguments were applied, "That this his free Consent clearly absolv'd "the King; and so in the end they extorted from him, to empower some Lords by Commission to pass the Bill.

All things being thus transacted, he was on the 12th of May brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where with a settled undaunted Courage he told the People, "He was come there "to satisfie 'em with his Head, but was much afraid the Reformation they began thus in Blood, "wou'd not prove so fortunate to the Kingdom as "they expected, and he wish'd: And after great Expressions of his Devotion to the Church of *England*, of his Loyalty to the King, and Affection to the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, with great Tranquillity of Mind he resign'd his Head to the Block, where one Blow sever'd it from his Body: Many of the Spectators, who had been none of his best Friends in his Life, being much affected with the Courage and Christianity of his Death.

Thus fell this great Man, inferior to none in Power, and little to any in Fortune throughout the three Kingdoms, who once led those People, who now pursued him to his Grave. He was a Man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature, with

*The Earl of  
Strafford  
Beheaded.*

with some Additions of Art and Learning. His first Addresses to the Court were to confirm his Greatness in the Country, where he apprehended some Acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*. But his first Attempts were so prosperous, that he rested not 'till he had depriv'd his Adversary of all Power both in Court and Country; sending him home a most abject disconsolate Old Man, where he was to have a Superiority over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North. These Successes, apply'd to a Nature too elate and boisterous of it self, and a quicker Progress into the greatest Employments in the State, made him more to disdain other Men, and condemn the Forms of Business, than perhaps he wou'd, had he met with some Disappointments in the Beginning, and had risen gradually.

*An Act for the perpetual Parliament passed at the same time.* With this Bill of Attainder the King pass'd another, of almost as fatal a Consequence to his Majesty and the Kingdom, as that was to the Earl, the Act for the perpetual Parliament, as it is since called.

The vast Expence of the two Armies was no otherwise supply'd, than by borrowing great Sums of Money in the City. About the Time of the Act of Attainder, their Emissaries acquainted the House, "That there was now no hopes of borrowing more; "that those who had lent chearfully already upon "the Honour and Justice of the two Houses, began "to consider how desperate that Security must be in "case of a Dissolution, the Fears of which were "much justified in the Discovery of the late Plot; "which, tho' not in each Particular publish'd to 'em, "gave 'em Reason to think there was no good Meaning towards the Parliament. This was no sooner offer'd, than the Reasonableness of the Objection was enforc'd, and the Necessity of some Expedient to

to fatisfie the People of the King's gracious Intention and Resolutions; (for when they were to demand some unreasonable thing of him, they abounded in dutiful Expressions, and large Promises of what Demonstrations of Duty they would shortly make him) and no Way could be thought of so sure, as an Act of Parliament, "That the Parliament should "not be Prorogued, or Dissolv'd, but by Act of "Parliament. Which a Committee appointed thereunto, having in less than an Hour prepared and brought into the House, it was immediately read twice and Committed, an Expedition scarce ever known in Parliament, and the next Day carry'd up to the Lords, who (tho' they at first had made some Amendments to it, the principal of which were, "That the Time "should not be left indefinite, but that it should be "Dissolv'd in two Years, except with Consent of "both Houses; which the Commons highly resented, and which their Lordships therefore in the Hurry of Noise and Confusion, when the Meetings of the People were so frequent, declined;) kindly consented to it; and the King, by the Importunity of those he most trusted, in the Agony of the other Dispatch, was induced to include it in the Commission with the Act of Attainder, and they were both pass'd together.

After the passing this Act, and two other Bills, for abolishing the Star-Chamber Court, and the High Commission, that was not a Grievance, real or imaginary, left, to which an effectual Remedy had not been apply'd, and therefore 'twas expected both Armies shou'd with speed be disbanded.

But what Provision soever was made for the Publick, particular Persons had received no Satisfaction. The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, and their high Proceedings in whatsoever the King was nearest concern'd, left all those, who had any Expectation of

M

Offices



Offices and Preferments, desperate in their Hopes; and yet an Accident happened, which might have been to 'em an earnest of future Encouragement. Some Passion arose at a Committee of the Lords in an Afternoon, between the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and the Lord *Maubray*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Arundel*, and from angry and disdainful Words proceeded an Offer or Attempt of Blows; for which Misdemeanor they were both the next Day sent to the Tower by the House of Lords: And the King, who had been long displeased with the insolent indiscreet Carriage of the Earl, took that Advantage to send for the Staff, and immediately put it into the Earl of *Effex* his Hands, who took it without any Hesitation. Notwithstanding which extraordinary Grace to the most popular Man of the Kingdom, whatever concerned the King in Right, or what he had Reason to expect from the Compliance of the House, or was any way recommended by his Majesty to 'em, met with little or no Respect.

His Revenue was so far from being improved, that it was fallen much short of it's usual Dignity and Value. For, tho' upon passing the Temporary Bill, (as has been before declared) concerning Tonnage and Poundage, granting the same to his Majesty for two Months only, they had made glorious Promises of a new Book of Rates, and a compleat Act, to his Majesty's high Advantage in Point of Profit; yet when some, who discerned this gross Usage, and therefore expected full Satisfaction by such an Act for Life, as had been usual, moved it to the House, when the Earl of *Strafford*'s Business was over, which had been always urged as necessary to preceed all other Consultations, they were presently silenced with "The Odiousness of the late Plot, which was not yet fully discovered; that  
 "not-

“notwithstanding the King’s Gracious Condescen-  
 “sions in the late Acts, they had great Reason to  
 “fear some ill-affected Persons still inclined his Ma-  
 “jesty to the Disservice of the Parliament. That  
 “there had been a Design (as in time they should  
 “be able to make appear clearly to the House) not  
 “only to poison the Affections of the Army to-  
 “wards the Parliament, but to bring that Army up  
 “to *London*, with a Purpose to awe ’em. That the  
 “Confederates in this Design had taken an Oath to  
 “oppose the Removing the Bishops out of the House  
 “of Peers, to maintain and defend the King’s Prero-  
 “gative to the utmost Extent, and to settle his Ma-  
 “jesty’s Revenue; that they had Reason to fear his  
 “Majesty’s own Concurrence, at least his Approba-  
 “tion of this Design: For they had clear Proof,  
 “that a Paper had passed his Majesty’s Perusal, full  
 “of many severe Invectives against the Parliament,  
 “and an Offer of Service to defend his Majesty’s  
 “Person, which imply’d it was in Danger. And  
 “the better to encourage all the Officers of the Ar-  
 “my to sign it, his Majesty had himself written a  
 “C and an R, in Token of his Approbation.

Most Mens Minds were strangely moved with this  
 Discourse, so methodically and confidently averred;  
 which served not only to defeat whatever had been  
 moved in his Majesty’s Behalf, but even to discour-  
 tenance the Disbanding the Armies, and the Re-  
 turn of the *Scots* into their own Country. For the  
 better effecting of which, and as a Token of their  
 Brotherly Love and Affection, the two Houses had  
 generously undertaken to “Present ’em with 300000*l.*  
 “besides the 23000*l.* a Month, whilst their Stay  
 “here should be thought necessary.

That Act might reasonably have rous’d the King  
 from any Dependence upon the Honour, Loyalty,  
 and Justice of the two Houses: And certainly,

300000*l.*  
 voted for a  
 Gratuity  
 to the  
*Scots*, be-  
 sides their  
 Monthly  
 Allowance.

when Posterity shall recover their true *English* Courage, Honour, and Conscience, they will blush at no Action of this Rebellious Age more, than the Degeneracy of the Nobility and Gentry, who, tho' not guilty of the Treason, should reward a foreign Invasion, with whatever Establishments were desired in their own Kingdom, and a Donative, over and above all Charges, of 300000 *l.* out of the Bowels of *England*; which will appear the more strange, if we consider, that scarce a fifth Part of those, who were Accessaries to that Infamous Prodigality, were Friends, either to their Designs, or their Nation.

But a great many unfaithfully absented themselves from those Debates, when the Riches and Honour of their Country were to be transplanted into a strange Land. And some fed themselves up with an Assurance, that the Scandal and Unreasonableness of the Gift would incite the People to a Hatred and Revenge, and so that extravagant Bounty would not support, but destroy their pretended Brother-hood.

After they had played with this Plot, and given the House Heats and Colds for three Months, by applying Parts of it upon emergent Occasions; and finding, that, tho' it had done 'em great Service in raising their own Credit, and blasting the King's Honour, yet that they were still without their Court-Preferments, they resolved to expose all their Wares, and produce the whole Evidence.

We observed before, that upon Mr. *Pym's* first Motion to the House, and their Address to his Majesty, some Persons of near Relation to his Trust immediately absented themselves; which were Mr. *Piercy*, and Mr. *Fermyn*; the latter of which got safe into *France*; but Mr. *Piercy* deferring his Journey upon some Occasions of his own, was discovered in some obscure Place in *Sussex*, near his Brother's House, where he had concealed himself; and



and endeavouring to escape, was set upon by the Country-People, and with great Difficulty, and not without some Hurt, got from 'em. It was generally believed afterwards, that finding it almost impossible to transport himself into foreign Parts, he found Means of returning to *London*, and was privately protected by his Brother, 'till his Hurt was cured; 'till the Strictness of the Enquiry was over; and 'till he had prepared that Letter to his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland*, which furnished the Committee, as they pretended, with a double Evidence; for immediately upon the Receipt of that Letter from the Earl, they told the House, "They were now prepared for a compleat Discovery; and thereupon produced Colonel *Goring's* Evidence, and Mr. *Piercy's* Letter.

Posterity will hardly believe, that the Evidence then given in so Grave and Judicious an Assembly, as the Parliament 'till then used to be, could have brought the least Prejudice upon the King, or have hurt any Person that was accused; there being so slender Show of Proof of a real Design to bring up the Army to curb the Parliament, that indeed 'twas very plain, there was no such Plot at all. Only an open Communication between some, (the major Part whereof were of the House) of the ill Arts then in Use, to debauch the People; and of some Expedient to preserve the Army (in which they all had considerable Posts, two of 'em being General Officers) from that publick Infection. In which Discourse Colonel *Goring* himself, as it appeared by his own Examination, started some wild extravagant Overtures "Of bringing up the Army, and surprizing the Tower, which was with utter Dislike rejected by all the rest. That when the bringing up the Army was once mentioned to the King, "his Majesty would not hear of it, but only desired,

“their Affection might be preserved entire for his  
 “Service, as far as consisted with the Laws of the  
 “Land, which were in Danger of being invaded.

Yet notwithstanding that all this, and only this, appeared, (besides the Talk of a Petition; for the Petition it self they would not produce, signed with C. R. an Account of which the Reader had before) Mr. *Pym*'s specious positive Narration of the whole before the Evidence was read; the Denying what was now proved and confessed by themselves, Mr. *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham*, and *Pollard*, upon their former Examination; the Flight of Mr. *Fermyn*, *Piercy*, and some others; the mention of some things in the Petition, signed C. R. and some malicious Glances, both in *Goring*'s Examination, and *Piercy*'s Letter, at the King and Queen, so far transported the House, who took all that was said to be proved, that they quickly voted “That there was a Design of “bringing up the Army to force the Parliament; resolved to accuse Mr. *Fermyn* and *Piercy* of High-Treason; committed the three Members to several Prisons, and expelled 'em the House, that their Places might be filled, as they shortly were, with some more fit for their Purpose; gave Colonel *Goring* publick Thanks, “For preserving the Kingdom, and Liberties of Parliament; and alarmed the People with Jealousies for their Safety, and filled 'em with universal Applause of their great Wisdom and Vigilancy. So that this Plot served to produce their first Protestation; in a great Degree to gain their Ends upon the Earl of *Sirafford*, as hath been before observed; to procure the Bill for the perpetual Parliament, the Source of all our publick Calamities; to frustrate all Overtures made for his Majesty's Revenue; and to lessen the general Reverence and Duty to both their Majesties; to retain the *Scottish* Army, and consequently prevent the King's being disbanded;

Wilmot,  
 Ashburn-  
 ham, and  
 Pollard.

ed; to incense both Houses against the Bishops; to blast the Earl of *Newcastle's* Reputation, whose Zeal for his Majesty's Service was most remarkable, as if he had been to Command the Army; and lastly, to inhance their own Estimation with the People, as if they were the only Guardians of Religion, Law, and Liberty.

Mr. *Piercy's* Letter was the first visible Instance of the Earl of *Northumberland's* falling off from his Majesty's Service, which produced several ill Effects in the Minds of many. For as the Earl had the most unblemish'd Reputation both in Court and Country of any Man of his Quality in the Nation, so they, who knew him well, discerned that the greatness of that Reputation proceeded purely from his Majesty's singular Grace and Favour, who from the late King's Death, to the very Minute of which we now speak, prosecuted him with all manner of Respect and Kindness; and (as I have heard his Majesty himself say,) "Courtred him as his Mistress, and "conversed with him as his Friend; and therefore many, who observed this great Lord purchase this Opportunity of diserving the King at the Expence of his Brother's Honour, and his own Gratitude, concluded the Court was much worse than it appear'd to be.

The Truth is, the Earl being in great trouble how to send his Brother away beyond Sea, consulted with a Confident Friend then in Power, who innocently brought Mr. *Pym* into the Council, who over-reached 'em both, by readily consenting to Mr. *Piercy's* Escape, the Earl's chief Care; but then obliged him, "First to obtain such a Letter from "him, as might serve as an Evidence of the Plot after his Escape; and thus the Letter was procured, which made a lasting Quarrel between the two Brothers, and rendred the Earl more at the Devotion



of those Persons whom he had trusted so far, than he had been before.

The House of Commons took more upon 'em after the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, in every Respect, than they had done before. For being not to be dissolved without their own Consent, (the fear of which had before restrained 'em within some Bounds of Modesty) they called any Power they had a Mind to arrogate to themselves, "A Branch of their Privilege; and any Opposition of that Power, "A Breach of their Privileges; which all Men were bound to support by their late Protestation; and they were the only proper Judges of their own Privileges.

Hereupon they term'd whom they thought fit Delinquents, receiv'd all sorts of Complaints, and committed whom they pleas'd to Prison; and as if all other Privileges of Peers, and the King himself had been swallowed up in theirs, upon the Lord's rejecting a Bill sent up to 'em, "To compel all "Persons to take the late Protestation; and the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts* having refus'd to take the same, they by a Vote declar'd in great Fury, "That the Protestation was fit to be taken "by every Person that was well-affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Common-wealth; and "therefore, that what Person soever should refuse it, "was unworthy to bear Office in the Church or "Common-wealth; and order'd further, "That the "Vote should be Printed, and that the Knights and "Burgesses should send down Copies of it to their "respective Corporations; which was the most unparallel'd Breach of Privilege, the most insolent Affront to the Lords and the King, and to the Justice of the Realm; and the most destructive to Parliaments, that any Age had been guilty of.

The

The two Armies were continued all this while at a vast Expence, many Men whispering (but so as if they had a Mind to be heard) that the *Scots* would not return 'till the Bill against Episcopacy was pass'd. Hereupon his Majesty sent 'em Word about the beginning of *July*, "That he desired both Armies "might be Disbanded with all possible speed, for the "better doing whereof he had appointed the Earl "of *Holland* General of his Army; (the Earl of *Northumberland*, either for want of Health, or some other Reason, having resign'd his Commission) "and "design'd to send him down thither forthwith, that "his Majesty himself, according to a Resolution and "Promise formerly made his *Scottish* Subjects, and "for the better perfecting the Peace, meant once "more to visit that his Native Kingdom, and nam'd "what Day (about Fourteen Days after) his Progress was to begin; and therefore wish'd 'em against that time to prepare such Acts for the good "of the Kingdom, if any thing yet remained to be "asked him, as were to receive his Majesty's Ap probation; notwithstanding which, they spent most of their time upon the Bill for the abolishing Bishops, Deans and Chapters, without either finishing the Pacification Act, or taking Care for the Disbanding the Army.

It was much wondered at by many, why the King made Choice of the Earl of *Holland*, (tho' the Business was no more than Disbanding) rather than the Earl of *Essex*, whom perhaps a seasonable Addition of Favour would in time have made his perfect Creature; for tho' he was Proud and Ambitious, which two Qualities were not attended with any Habit of ill Nature, he was naturally Faithful and Constant, and was very capable of being oblig'd. Then he was almost a declared Enemy to the *Scots*, and would punctually have observed all Formalities and

and Decencies which any ways related to his Master's Honour, or that of the Nation; in short, he might have been imposed upon as to his Understanding, but could never have been corrupted either by Hope or Fear of the two Houses, and was more Idoliz'd by the People, than really Idolizing them.

But in giving the Command to the Earl of *Holland*, the other who expected it, and to whom it had in some measure been offered, had reason to be offended; for that it made him think the King distrust'd him, and that his Majesty had made him Chamberlain, rather because none else cou'd have born the Envy of Displacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than that there was any regard had to his own Merit and Honour.

Besides, the Earl of *Holland* was obnoxious to the Party, that was able to do Mischief, by his Vigour in that great and terrible Office of Justice in *Eyre*, and other Particulars, so far, that they knew he durst not offend 'em; but on the contrary, would buy their Favour and Protection at any Price: As it fell out; for some time after the King had pass'd through the Army in his way to *Scotland*, the Earl sent a Letter, Communicated to both Houses, in which he hinted at some new Design of corrupting the Army, for which he could never after give the least Colour, but it was of use then to improve the old Jealousies, and defeat whatever should be offered in his Majesty's Behalf during his Absence.

'Twas thought they would now be very forward in Dismissing the two Armies, which were so vastly chargeable to the Kingdom every Month; but they were unwilling yet to lose their beloved Brethren.

Tho' a Day was fix'd in *July* for the King to pass the Act for Pacification between the two Kingdoms,



doms, in his Parliament in *Edenborough*; and it was resolved on all sides, that one Army should be Dismiss'd, and the other Disbanded, before the King should arrive in the North; yet, instead of forwarding that Work, they declared they were still jealous of the Court, "There were still some ill affected Counsellors about his Majesty, who obstructed that Goodness and Bounty, which would otherwise naturally flow from him towards his People, and imprint a Dislike in him of the Parliament it self, and its Proceedings.

Their Intent was to drive the Duke of *Richmond* from the King, both because they wanted his Office of Warden of the Cinque Ports for the Earl of *Warwick*, and for that he was in a manner the only considerable Man about the King that did not Bow to 'em, but vigorously opposed all their Designs in the House, and served his Master with Honour and Resolution; they could lay nothing like a Crime to his Charge, and therefore intended by some Vote to Brand him, and make him odious. One Day whilst they were very intent upon this Argument, and were about to Name him, which hitherto they had not done, Mr. *Hyde* stood up, and said, "He really believed the King had still some Evil Counsellors about him, whom it were much better to Name, than to amuse the House with a general mention of 'em, as if they durst not Name 'em; that for his part, if a Day was appointed, he was ready to Name one, whom upon due Reflections, he had great reason to believe an Evil Counsellor.

They were mightily afraid he meant the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and for the future no more insisted upon the Discovery of Evil Counsellors, tho' the Duke was never at rest till they had forced him to resign the Cinque Ports to the Earl of *Warwick*. And Mr. *Hyde's* nearest Friends were solicited

ted to persuade him not to attempt to prejudice the Marquis of *Hamilton*; and even his Majesty himself was prevail'd with to send to him upon the same score; so industrious were they in saving or destroying those they had a mind should be saved or destroy'd.

When every Body expected the House would enter upon no Business, 'till the Treaty of the Pacification was finish'd, they call'd one Morning for a Bill (brought in so long before by Sir *Edward Deering*) for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, read it a second time, and committed it; and resolved to proceed upon it the next Day; when there was a long Debate who should be Chair-man of the Committee; they who were Friends to the Bill were for having Mr. *Hyde* in the Chair, that he might not by too frequent Speaking obstruct it, and the other side were for Mr. *Crew*, but in conclusion they who were for Mr. *Hyde* carry'd it. And after twenty Days spent in that Matter, the King resolving to begin his Journey for *Scotland*, they were forced to let it rest; nor were they bold enough to resume it ever after, 'till the War was begun. For the Act of Pacification, and Order for Disbanding, were thought necessary to be dispatch'd before his Majesty should begin his Progress, which on a sudden drew the House of Commons into a perplex'd Debate, many expressing dark and doubtful Apprehensions of his Safety, not without some Insinuations, "That were  
"the King once with his Army, he might probably  
"listen to new Counsels before he consented to dis-  
"band it; and at last concluded, "To desire the  
"Lords to concur with 'em in a Request to the King,  
"to put off his Journèy 'till the Act of Pacifica-  
"tion was pass'd, the Armies dismiss'd, and other  
"Acts for the Behoof of the Kingdom should be  
"ready; without mentioning any prefix'd Time a-  
gainst

*The Bill for  
the Extir-  
pation of E-  
piscopacy  
read, and  
laid by.*

gainst which they should be so. Thereupon both Houses address'd his Majesty, (for most Men were against the King's going into *Scotland*) who answer'd, "That the Houses having had such long Notice of "his Majesty's Design for that Journey, he wonder'd they should defer preparing what was necessary for his Approbation before he went; that he "was content to comply with their Desires so far, "as to put it off a Fortnight longer; within which "time they might provide whatever was of Importance, and it was not possible for him to exceed "it.

This Time being gained, they moved but slowly in the Disbanding, or in the Act of Pacification; but dwelt upon their "Fears and Jealousies of the "Peace of the Kingdom; of an Invasion from abroad, and an Insurrection of the *Papists* at home: "Against all which, they said, the Laws of the Realm "had not yet made sufficient Provision. And therefore Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* one Day brought in a Bill for settling the Militia by Sea and Land, in such Hands as they should name; with all those Powers and Jurisdictions, as were afterwards vested in the Earl of *Essex* or Sir *Tho. Fairfax* by Land, or the Earl of *Warwick* by Sea.

*A Bill for settling the Militia, by Sir Arthur Haslerigg.*

The House was so generally offended at the very Title of this Bill, that they were for throwing it out without giving it a Reading, and that with some Reproach to the Person that preferr'd it, "As a "Matter of Sedition; till *Saint-John* (who in truth had drawn it) stood up, and said, "He thought "that Passion and Dislike very improper, before the "Bill was read; that every Member had an undoubted Privilege to propose any Law, or make "any Motion, which in his Conscience he thought "useful to the Kingdom in general, or the Place "where he served in particular. As for the present "Bill,

*Seconded by the Solicitor Saint-John.*



“Bill, he thought something very necessary to be  
 “done was comprehended in it; for that such a Pow-  
 “er over the Militia, as was requisite for the Secu-  
 “rity of the Kingdom, was not yet by Law vested  
 “in any Person, or in the Crown it self; that since  
 “by their late Votes the Power of Lords-Lieute-  
 “nants and their Deputies was determined, such  
 “ought to be substituted in their Room, as might  
 “be able to suppress any Sedition, or repel an Inva-  
 “sion, and therefore that the Bill ought to be read; and  
 “if any proper Expedient were found in it, to em-  
 “brace it; if not, to think of a better; that when  
 “they were agreed upon the Power and Jurisdicti-  
 “on, it wou’d be then time enough for the Nomi-  
 “nation of the Persons; if the Matter seem’d too  
 “great for any Subject it might be devolved upon  
 “the Crown, which had not yet a sufficient Legal  
 “Power to the Purposes aforesaid.

*The Bill* This Discourse from a Person of his Majesty’s  
*read once,* sworn Council induced the House to read the Bill;  
*and no* which was done with so universal a Dislike, that it  
*more.* was never called for a second time, but lay by, ’till  
 a long while after the Substance of it was digested in  
 Ordinances.

The Day drawing near for the King’s Departure,  
 and very little done in the two Houses for the Pub-  
 lick, on a *Saturday* in the Afternoon (his Majesty  
 being to set out the *Monday* following) they fell a-  
 gain into a great Passion against it, and having sat  
 all the next Day (a thing scarce ever known before)  
 in hopes to hinder it; but finding they could pre-  
 vail no farther with his Majesty, than whereas he  
 intended to begin his Progress on *Monday* after Din-  
 ner, to stay ’till *Tuesday* Morning, they earnestly  
 proposed, “That he would leave a Power with some  
 “Persons to pass such Acts as should pass both Hou-  
 “ses in his Absence, and constitute a *Custos Regni* to  
 “sup-

"supply the Government 'till his Return. But when they found such a Commission, to pass any Acts that were not agreed to by both Houses at the Date of that Commission, would be illegal; and that if the King had a mind to satisfie 'em, both the Person and Power of a *Custos Regni* would require a great deal of Consideration, they were contented with a Commission to the Earl of *Essex*, of Lieutenant-General on that side *Trent*; which being granted, his Majesty, after he had pass'd the Act of Pacification, began his Journey about the Middle of *August*, on being pass'd, his Majesty being leaving both Houses sitting at *Westminster*.

The King perceiving his *Irish* Army was not likely to be employ'd in the Use for which it was rais'd, (which was to have made *Scotland* a Visit) and finding an invidious mention made often of it in the House of Commons, resolv'd to disband 'em, giving free Leave (according to the Earl of *Strafford's* last Advice to him) to any Officer of the Army, to transport what Men he could get of it into the Service of any Foreign Prince in Peace with this Crown; and shortly after, upon the earnest Application of the *Spanish* Ambassador, consented that 4000 Men of that Army should be sent to serve the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*, and at the same time permitted as many as desired it, to go into the Service of the *French* King. This the House of Commons oppos'd with their usual Heat and Confidence, and prevail'd with the King to forbid any of those Soldiers to go into the Service of any Prince whatsoever.

This Activity in a Business not belonging to 'em, was thought to be owing to the Instigation of the *French* Ambassador, who was very intimate with the chief of the Faction; and some said boldly, and one or two have since affirm'd it, as upon their Knowledge, "That Mr. *Pym* was gratify'd with 5000 L  
"by

“by that Minister, for hindering the Supply to *Spain*. Others thought it proceeded only from that insolent Spirit which possess’d ’em, to let *Spain* and all other Princes see, how they were able to oppose and defeat the King’s Resolutions, in the most pure Acts of Sovereignty: But I believe the principal Motive, was the Desire of the Committee from the Parliament of *Ireland*; who questionless had some Prospect of the Rebellion, which shortly after broke out; which if that Body of Men had been sent abroad, would hardly have taken Effect. But of this more hereafter.

The King being set out upon his Journey, all necessary Care was taken for the Disbanding; and it was Resolv’d, “That a Committee of Lords and “Commons should attend his Majesty (that is, be a “Spy upon him) in *Scotland*; to be present when “the Act of Pacification should be transacted there, “and preserve that good Correspondence that was “begun between the two Nations; but in reality, to form their next Years Designs; and contrive new Laws for this Kingdom, in imitation of such as should be consented to for that.

When this Business was dispatch’d, they thought it time to breath a little, and visit their Countries, who had receiv’d such notable Services from ’em, and so about the latter End of *August* (having first appointed a Committee to sit in their Absence, for the Dispatch of any important Matters, with such Qualifications of Power as had never before been heard of in Parliament) they Adjourn’d ’till the Middle of *October* following; having, during their Nine Months sitting (a longer Session than was ever known before) besides all their extraordinary Acts of Blood and Power, obtain’d the King’s Assent to these important Laws following, some of which might have redounded much to the Benefit and Advantage of the Kingdom. A

*The Acts  
pass’d since  
the Begin-  
ning of this  
Parlia-  
ment.*



A Bill for Triennial Parliaments; which contain-  
ed many Clauses in it prejudicial to Majesty, in case  
the Crown should omit sending out the Writs. Yet  
since it was plain, that great Inconveniencies had  
happened through a Difuse of Parliaments, and that  
the Crown could in no wise suffer, but through its  
own Default, it gain'd an easie Passage through both  
Houses, and was enacted by his Majesty the next  
Day after.

*An Act for  
Triennial  
Parlia-  
ments.*

An Act for Abolishing the High-Commission  
Court; which contained more than was generally  
design'd. It was erected in the First Year of Queen  
*Elizabeth*, and was of great use for the maintaining  
the Peace and Dignity of the Church, whilst it was  
exercised with Moderation. But of late, the great  
Power of some Bishops at Court had made it over-  
flow its Banks, and thereupon gain'd it many Ene-  
mies, so that the Proposition for taking it away was  
readily listen'd to; which the violenter Party ob-  
serving, they who prepared the Bill added Clau-  
ses, that did not only abolish that, but destroy-  
ed all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; yet it got a Pas-  
sage through both Houses, and waited for the  
Royal Assent. But when the King understood  
the Extent thereof, he paused a little, 'till both  
Houses had considered if the Remedy was suitable  
to the Disease.

*An Act for  
abolishing  
the High-  
Commission  
Court.*

Upon this the Fire was kindled against the Bi-  
shops, as the only Enemies to Reformation; insi-  
nuating, that since they opposed a just Regulation  
of their Power, the only way was to tear 'em up  
Root and Branch. Whereupon the Bishops them-  
selves besought the King to pass the Bill for their  
own sakes. Whilst the Managers were well pleas-  
ed to find that Logick effectual, not doubting but  
when they had robb'd 'em of their Jurisdiction in  
the Church by that Bill, and their Dignity in the

N

State,

State, by throwing 'em out of the House of Peers, they should find it an easie Task to drive their Names and Titles out of the Kingdom.

*An Act for  
taking a-  
way the  
Star-  
Chamber  
Court.*

An Act for taking away the Star-Chamber Court; which of late was grown so exorbitant, that there were few Persons, who had not suffer'd by it. For they had enlarged their Jurisdiction, from the Connuance of Riot, Perjury, and the most notorious Misdemeanors, to the vindicating all Proclamations and Orders of State; to the maintaining illegal Commissions, and Grants of Monopolies, so that no Man was free from the Lash of it any longer than he resolv'd to submit to those, and such like extraordinary Courses. And therefore, when a Bill was brought in to limit and regulate the Proceedings of that Court, it was suddenly suggest-ed by a Member, (no Friend to Confusion, or that Party who intended it) "That he conceived the "proper Remedies for so inveterate a Disease would "be entirely to abolish that Court, which it was "very difficult, it may be impossible to reform. Whereupon the Frame of that Bill was so far alter'd, that it serv'd utterly to take away that Court.

*An Act for  
the ascer-  
taining the  
Limits of  
Forests.*

An Act to ascertain the Meets, Bounds, and Limits of all Forests; which was of great Benefit to the People, who had been so intolerably troubled by the Justice in Eyre's Seat, that few Men were sure their Estates and Seats might not be brought within the Jurisdiction of some Forest; which would cost 'em great Fines. And therefore, to ease 'em for the future, the King renounc'd his own immediate Right, (which the Year before was thought at least to be worth 200000 l.) without any Complaint.

*An Act for  
limiting the  
Clerk of the  
Market's  
Office.*

An Act for limiting the Office of Clerk of the Market of his Majesty's House; by which the People were delivered from many petty Vexations, and

and Extortions, exercised over 'em by the Deputies and Agents for that Office.

An Act for the preventing vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood; by which, to attone for the late rigorous Proceedings upon that Claim, his Majesty released to his People as unquestionable a Due, as any Service he can lay claim to, and therefore the Discharge of it was a singular Benefit and Advantage to the Subject. *An Act for preventing vexatious Proceedings touching Knighthood.*

An Act for the free making Salt-Peter and Gunpowder within the Kingdom; which was a part of the Prerogative. The Pretence for this Exemption was, "The unwarrantable Proceedings of those who had been entrusted in that Employment; by whom undoubtedly many Men had been oppress'd: But the true Reason was, That they might upon Occasion have a good Stock of that Commodity in readiness. *An Act for the free making Salt-Petre, and Gunpowder.*

An Act against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannery Courts; designed chiefly for the Benefit of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, the Inhabitants whereof had been much abused by the Impostions of that Court. *An Act concerning the Stannery Courts.*

An Act adjudging all the Proceedings relating to Ship-mony void. Which was a free Renunciation to a Right, supported by a Judgment in the Exchequer-Chamber before all the Judges in *England*; and therefore ought to have met with a just Acknowledgment. *An Act against Ship-mony.*

These Acts, together with that fatal Bill for the Continuance of this Parliament, must by an incorrupted Posterity be acknowledged everlasting Instances of the King's Paternal Affection to his People, and deserved all the Expressions of Piety, Duty and Confidence from them; which how they perform'd we shall observe in the next Place.

*The End of the Third Book.*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
ABRIDG'D.

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ISAIAH XVII. 12.

*Wo to the Multitude of many People, which  
make a Noise like the Noise of the Seas;  
and to the Rushing of Nations, that make  
a Rushing like the Rushing of many Wa-  
ters.*

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BOOK IV.

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**T**HE King came to *York* about the middle  
of *August*, but found neither Army dis-  
banded; for, tho' Orders had been sent to  
that Purpose, yet the Money, without which  
nothing could be done, was still to seek. And be-  
cause a Sum sufficient for both could not easily be  
raised, an Act of Parliament had passed, by which  
the Principal Officers of the King's Army were pro-  
mised Payment upon publick Faith the *November* fol-

following; till which time they were to be contented, that the Inferior Officers and Common Soldiers should be cleared off at their Disbanding.

Whilst the King was at *York*, the Earl of *Holland* begged of his Majesty, to make a Baron, which might then have been worth him 10000 *l.* but whether the King was afraid of making an unfit Man, that might prejudice him in the House of Peers, or was unwilling to enlarge that Number, I know not, but at that time he refused gratifying the Earl; which so highly disoblged him, (for the Courtiers in those Days thought every thing taken from 'em, that was refused 'em) that having been informed by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and Sir *John Conyers*, of some foolish Passages in the late Tampering with the Army, that had not been before heard of; as soon as the King was gone forward on his Journey, (tho' his Majesty since told me, he thought he had left him when they parted very firm to his Service) the Earl sent a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, to be by him communicated in Parliament, "That he found there had "been strange Attempts to debauch and pervert "the Army, but he did not doubt he should be able "to prevent any Mischief. The whole Letter was couch'd in so mysterious a Sense, that Men were easily persuaded it related to something they had never yet been informed of; and by the Date it bore, it seemed to reflect on something the King should have been attempting. So that it served to revive their old Fears, and infuse new ones into the People; every Man drawing what Sense he thought fit, from what none of 'em could understand. Here-  
upon an Order of both Houses was made, for the disarming all Papists; which, with Orders of the like Nature, served to quicken in the People their Fears and Apprehensions, and withdraw 'em from any

*An Order  
for the dis-  
arming all  
Papists.*

Reverence or Affection to the Queen, tho' little else of Moment was afterwards done upon 'em.

Soon after the King began his Progress, upon a Motion of adjourning the Houses 'till after *Michaelmas*, which was generally approved of, many Members of both Houses, willing to refresh themselves after so long an Absence from Home, (especially the Plague increasing in Town, of which some Members had died) and imagining there was little more to be done 'till the King's Return, went into the Country; and others, who remained in Town, were less careful to attend the publick Service, but betook themselves to those Diversions and Refreshments that were more agreeable; in so much as in less than three Weeks after the King's Remove, there were not left above 20 Lords, and about 100 Commoners, in both Houses. But this was the Advantage they wanted; for they to whom the whole Conduct of the Reformation was committed, were sure to stick close to their Attendance, and so they now took upon themselves the Consultation of the highest Matters, both in Church and State. From their presuming to advise what was to be done out of the Kingdom, in Reference to *France* and *Spain*, they assumed the same Licence of consulting and appointing what was unfit within the Walls of the Church; and therefore they enter'd upon Debate of the *English* Liturgy, (which undoubtedly at that time was much revered throughout the Kingdom) and proposed, "There might, in Regard of tender Consciences, be Liberty to lay it aside: Which Proposition was so unacceptable, that tho' it was made in a thin House, by those who were of the greatest Authority, it was voted by the Major Part, "That it "should still be duly observed.

Notwithstanding all which, the next Day, when many who had been busie in the Debate were absent,



sent, contrary to all the Rules of Parliament, they suspended that Vote, and resolved, "That the standing of the Communion-Table should be changed in all Churches; the Rails should be pulled down, and the Chancel levelled with the rest of the Church, and that no Man should dare to bow at the Name of *Jesus*; which godly Resolutions being digested into an Order, it was carried up to the House of Peers, expecting from the small Number remaining there to find no Resistance from thence. But the Lords for the major Part being much offended, that the House of Commons should presume, not only to interpose in a Matter quite out of their Jurisdiction, but to disturb the Peace of the Church by such schismatical Arrogance, were so far from joining with em, that they directed a former Order of the House of Peers, made the 16. *Jan.* before, to be Printed, to this Purpose, "That the Divine Service should be performed as it is set down in the Acts of Parliament of this Realm; and that whoever disturbed that wholesome Order, should be severely punished according to Law; and informed the Commons thereof, who nothing satisfied, pursued their own Order, and requiring all the Commons of *England* "To submit to their Direction, declared, The Order of the Lords was obtained by the Consent of no more than Eleven of that House, and that Nine others dissented from it; and therefore that they should pay no Obedience to it. Whereas 'twas an Order made in full Parliament several Months before, and was by the major Part present seasonably directed to be Printed upon that emergent Occasion.

One Article in the Act of Pacification was, "That there should be a publick and solemn Day of Thanksgiving for a Peace between the two Nations: But no time being fixed for that Act of In-

devotion, the Lords and Commons assumed to themselves the Power of Appointing it; and to that End issued out an Ordinance, (as they term'd it) "That it should be kept on the 7th of *September* following throughout *England* and *Wales*; which was accordingly done; the seditious Ministers in all Pulpits, taking Occasion then to extol the Parliament, and the *Scots*, and instil as much Malignity in the People against those who were not of the Faction, as their Wit and Malice could suggest.

After that Day's Solemnity, and their Declaration against the Lords, about the Order mentioned before, and the Recommendation of some of their own Ministers, to be Lecturers in the Churches about *London*; whom the Incumbents were forced to receive; when they apprehended, upon so many Members absenting themselves, they should not have Fortty left, (less than which Number could not make up a House of Commons) they yielded to a Recess; and so the House adjourn'd from the Ninth of *September*, 1641. to the Twentieth of *October* following. Each House constituting a Committee to meet twice a Week, or oftner upon Occasion, (a thing never practis'd before) to transact such Business, during the Recess, as they were empowered to do by their Instructions.

Both Houses adjourn to Oct. 20. appointing Committees to sit in the mean time.

The Power of the Committee of the Lords House.

The Instructions to the Committee for the House of Lords, (consisting of the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, the Lords *Wharton*, *Kimbolton*, and 12 more, but every Three had as full Power to act, as the whole Number) extended "only to the opening the Letters that should be sent from the Committee in *Scotland*, and the answering'em; with Power to recall that Committee, if they thought it convenient; to remit Mony to the Armies, and assist towards their Disbanding; and the removing the Magazines from *Berwick* and *Carlisle*.

But

But the Commons thought this too restrained a Power for their Committee, and therefore (tho' the Power of both ought to have been equal) they qualified theirs (who were Mr. Pym, Mr. Saint-John, Mr. Strode, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Harry Vane, Alderman Pennington, Captain Venn, and others, every six having as full Power as the whole) not only with such Powers as were granted to the Lords, but also "to proceed against such Delinquents as had been complained of to the House, "and receive any Offers of Discovery they should "make; to stir up all Sheriffs and Justices of the "Peace in their Duty, in repressing Riots and Tumults, and report to the House any Remissness in "Obedience to their Commands; to receive the Accounts of any Accountants to the Crown, in Order to the Preparation of his Majesty's Revenue; "to think upon a Frame and Constitution for a "West-India Company, and examine into the Fishing "upon the Coasts of England, Ireland and Scotland, and several other extravagant Clauses, which served to heighten the Authority of the Committee, and draw to 'em almost a general Application and Reverence.

The Houses being thus Adjourned, Mr. Pym was appointed Chair-man of the Committee for the Commons, who immediately, with his own Hand, signed the Printed Declarations before mentioned, and ordered 'em to be read in all the Churches; which so far encouraged the Seditious and Factious, that they made the Windows in the Churches to be broken down, tore up the Rails, and removed the Communion-Table, breaking out into many other Insolent and Scandalous Disorders; and if the Minister, with the more grave substantial Inhabitants, opposed their Licence, they were presently summoned to attend the Committee, to their great Charge and



and Vexation; and if any Minister refused to admit into his Church a Lecturer recommended by them, (and I am confident they never recommended a Learned Orthodox Man to any Church in *England*) he was presently summon'd up, without any Discharge 'till the Houses met again; which made many, tired with an Oppression against which they knew no Appeal, in the end submit to what they could not resist, and so all the Pulpits were filled with their Factious Schismatical Preachers.

*The Armies Disbanded.* At length the Armies were Disbanded, and the Earl of *Holland* returned in great State to his House at *Kensington*, where he was presently visited, and caress'd by all the Faction; for whether his late Repulse of making a Baron, or some sharp Expressions of the Queen's upon his Letter mention'd before, or the Conscience of that Letter, or a Fear of being Prosecuted for his Enormities whilst he was Justice in *Eyre*, or all together, had wrought upon him, he had now fully declared himself of their Party; and the better to support the Prejudice to the King, and Bitterness against the Court 'till both Houses met, which they had reason to think their crooked indirect Practices, and their visible and unwarrantable Encroachments upon the Church and State, had very much lessened in the Opinions of all sober Men; his Lordship armed 'em with several Informations of some Occurrences in the late Army, that might be wrested to the King's Disadvantage; discovered to 'em whatever the King himself had said to him, when he thought him firm to his Interest, and when, it's very likely, he was not well pleased with the Proceedings at *Westminster*; and all the Particulars that Sir *Jacob Ashley* and Sir *John Conyers* had entrusted with him, when they looked on him as devoted to his Majesty's Service; together with whatsoever the Lady *Carlisle* had told him the Queen said

said or did, which might serve to raise their Jealousie or Malice to her Majesty. And he himself, who had been always cherished by the Queen, and supported by her against the Interest of the Earls of *Portland* and *Strafford*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, which would otherwise have crushed him, waited on her Majesty but once from the time of his Return out of the North, during the King's Absence; and yet some who were Members of those private Meetings at *Kensington*, still thought her Favour a greater Step to Preferment, than the Interest they could purchase in the others; and therefore always advertised her of what passed at those Meetings: Which for want of a discreet Management, and through the Treachery of her nearest Servants, turned more to their Advantage than her own.

Some very unwarrantable Proceedings of the Committee that sate during the Recess, tho' it was to be but for a Month, were so full of Scandal and Offence, that the Members were like to return with more Courage, and a greater Aversion to Novelties than before; but several unlucky Accidents at that time so far influenced the Nature and Spirit of Men, that for the better illustrating some particular Passages, it will not be improper to insist something briefly upon 'em.

A small Committee of the two Houses (as hath been before observed) was appointed to attend the King into *Scotland*, for the better maintaining a Correspondence between the two Kingdoms, and to see all things performed there relating to the Act of Pacification. Those appointed by the Lords, were the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, a younger Son of the House of *Suffolk*, who married a Niece of the Duke of *Buckingham's* whilst he sate at the Helm, and was by him made a Baron; but that Dependence expiring by the Duke's and his Wive's Death, and he  
being

being Master of no Qualification proper to promote him, by degrees dropped off from his Attendance upon the Court, and shortly after from his good Wishes towards it, and was now grown implicitly devoted to that Party that was most averse and obnoxious to the Government; in Confidence of which he was deputed to that Employment, entirely to be governed by the two Members of the House of Commons joined with him, who were Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Mr. *Hambden*.

The latter of these must upon all Occasions be allowed a Person of great Address and Abilities, fit for any Employment he had a Mind to undertake, be it good or bad.

The other, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, was a Gentleman by Birth, but being a Branch of a younger Family, was Master of but a slender Fortune of about 500*l.* a Year in *Yorkshire*, and had spent much of his Time in Dogs and Horses, the accustomed Amusements of that Country. Being chosen to serve in Parliament, he struck in with his Neighbours, *Hotham* and *Cholmondley*, and growing intimate with the whole Party, he in a short time appeared rather to be without good Breeding, than to be incapable of it; and so they associated him with Mr. *Hambden* in this Employment, (the first of that kind the Parliament ever had) to be seasoned by the Instructions of so experienced a Master.

*Transac-  
tions in Scot-  
land, relat-  
ing to Mon-  
trofs, Ar-  
gyle, and  
Hamilton.*

From the time the *Scottish* Army came into *Eng-land* there had been many Jealousies between the Great Men of that Nation, but none so much observed as those between the Earls of *Montrofs* and *Argyle*. The former thought he had deserved more than any Man in his early Commodious Approaches towards Rebellion, which he made the sooner, perhaps, in Opposition to *Argyle*, who being then of the King's Council, he concluded would be of his Majesty's



Majesty's Interest; they were both looked on by the People as Men of unlimited Ambition, that like *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, one would admit of no Superior, the other endure no Equal. *Argyle* immediately upon the first Pacification having declared himself against the King, *Montrose*, by secret Insinuations, offered his Service to him; and after his Majesty's Arrival in *Scotland*, came privately to the King and acquainted him with many Particulars, "That *Hamilton* was as great a Traitor as *Argyle*, and offered "to make it "appear to the Parliament; but desired rather to have 'em both dispatched, and readily undertook to do it himself; but the King, averse to that Expedient, tho' it consisted with his own Security, advised him to prepare the Proofs for the Parliament; when all of a sudden, on a *Sunday* Morning, *Edenborough* was up in Arms, and *Hamilton* and *Argyle* withdrawn out of Town to their own Houses, where they stood upon their Guards, declaring openly, "That they had withdrawn themselves to "prevent their being Assassinated, which they chose "rather, than by standing upon their Defence at "*Edenborough*, to interrupt the Publick Peace, and "disturb the Parliament.

A dark perplex'd Account was immediately dispatched from the Committee at *Edenborough*, with many Ambiguous Expressions concerning it, and what the end of it would be; covertly insinuating that the Design might look farther than *Scotland*; and these Dispatches reached *London* the Day before the Parliament was to meet after the late Recess; all the Factious Party endeavouring to persuade others, "That the Design of Necessity must aim at "higher Matters, than the Assassination of those Lords "at *Edenborough*. And Mr. *Hyde* walking with the Earls of *Holland* and *Essex* in *Westminster-Hall* the Morning the Houses were to meet, they both expressed

pressed a wonderful Concern at it, pretending to believe, others had Reason to apprehend the same Assaults; Mr. *Hyde* thinking that Fear unworthy of 'em, told 'em merrily, He knew well what Opinion they both had of these two Lords a Year or two before, and wonder'd from whence that Alteration could proceed. They answered smiling, That the Times and the Court were much changed. And as soon as the Houses sat, and the Committee's Letter from *Scotland* was read, it was moved, "A  
 "Message might be sent to the House of Peers, that  
 "the Earl of *Essex*, whom the King had left Ge-  
 "neral on this side *Trent*, might be desired to or-  
 "der such a Guard as he thought sufficient for the  
 "Security of the Parliament; which was done ac-  
 "cordingly, and continued 'till they thought fit to have  
 others. This was done on Purpose to amuse the  
 People, as if the Parliament were in Danger, tho'  
 all things were quickly pacified in *Scotland*, *Hamilton*  
 being created a Duke, and *Argyle* a Marquis.

The Earl  
 of *Essex*  
 appointed  
 a Guard  
 to attend  
 the Parlia-  
 ment.

News of  
 the Irish  
 Rebellion.

The Rebellion of *Ireland*, a worse Accident than  
 all these, and which was highly detrimental to the  
 King's Affairs, that began now to recover Life,  
 broke out in all Parts of the Kingdom, during his  
 Majesty's Stay in *Scotland*, and made a wonderful  
 Impression upon the Minds of Men. The miracu-  
 lous Discovery of their Design upon *Dublin* the  
 Night before it was executed, prevented the Sur-  
 prizal of the Castle; gave the Government an Op-  
 portunity of apprehending the Principal Conspira-  
 tors, and preserved that City! The Time appoint-  
 ed was observed in the other Parts of the Kingdom,  
 where the Disappointment at *Dublin* was not known.  
 Forty or Fifty Thousand *English* Protestants were  
 murdered by a general Insurrection of the *Irish*, before  
 they suspected any Danger, or could draw into  
 Towns,

Towns, or strong Houses, and provide for their Defence.

One *Oconelly*, who had formerly served Sir *John Clotworthy*, and was the Man that made the Discovery, was dispatched from *Dublin*, with an Express to the Lord *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in *London*; and from *Ulster*, and the Northern Parts, an Express was sent to the King himself at *Edenborough*; and his Majesty's Letters from thence to the Parliament, reached *London* within less than two Days after the Messenger from *Dublin*.

The Lord *Leicester*, immediately upon the Receipt of the Letters from *Dublin*, caused the Council to be summon'd, and inform'd 'em of the Condition of *Ireland*, as far as those Letters contained, which was little more than the Discovery at *Dublin*, and the Confession of the Conspirators. The Council resolved to go in a Body the next Morning, being *Monday*, to the House of Commons, (for the House of Peers had adjourn'd it self 'till the *Wednesday* following) and inform them of it, which they did accordingly. The Council inform'd the House of Commons of it.

Most Mens Heads being intoxicated with Imaginations of Plots and traiterous Designs throughout the three Kingdoms, a deep Silence and Consternation possessed the whole House; for the Affair seemed to be out of their Cognisance; and when the King's Letters arrived, they were glad he had received the News of it, at a time when he could advise with so good a Council, that was then about him.

The King had then no Information of the Discovery at *Dublin*; but the Letters from *Ulster* (which he sent to the Parliament) advised him "of a general Insurrection in those Parts; of the barbarous Murders committed there upon Abundance of Protestants, and that Sir *Philim O Neil* appeared at the Head of the Rebels.

Upon



Upon which his Majesty acquainted the two Houses, "That he was satisfied 'twas no unadvised "Insurrection, but a premeditated Rebellion, which "must be repressed by a vigorous War; the Manage- "ment whereof he wholly resigned to their Care "and Wisdom; that for the present he had ordered a "stout Regiment of 1500 Foot, commanded by ex- "perienced Officers, to be transported out of *Scot-* "land into *Ulster*, for the Relief of those Parts.

This fell out to their Wish; and thereupon they appointed a Committee of both Houses, "to con- "sider of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and provide a Sup- "ply of Men, Arms and Money, to suppress the Re- "bellion. Whatever Letters the Lord Lieutenant received he communicated first to them, (being himself one of the Committee) and they reported 'em to the House, who were thereby possessed of a large Power and Dependance; all Men making their Application to the chief Leaders among 'em, for their Preferments in that War; a Mischiefe, tho' at first little considered, the King felt afterwards very severely.

These concurring Circumstances much abated of that good Humour the House was disposed to meet in. And the Malecontents, who had been disappointed of their expected Preferments, took all Occasions to insinuate into the Minds of Men, "That "this Rebellion was contrived and fomented by the "King, or at least the Queen, to advance Popery; "that the Rebels themselves had declared they had "his Majesty's Authority for what they did; which Calumny, tho' it had not the least Colour of Truth, had a greater Influence than can be imagined upon the Minds of sober and moderate Men, who 'till then were scandalized at the violent Proceedings of the Parliament.

A Committee had been appointed at the beginning of the Parliament, "To prepare and draw up a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and the particular Grievances of the Nation; but it hardly sate, or was ever spoken of afterwards; 'till now Mr. *Strode*, one of the fiercest of the Party, moved, "That the Committee might be revived and ordered to meet; by which Men easily saw, they had not lost any of their Fury, but rather increased it, in that they found every Day their Credit sinking in the House, through the Opposition and Contradiction they met withal. Being thus disquieted, knowing but little, and doubting much, they seemed daily to discover some new Design against the Kingdom. One Day a Letter from beyond Sea "of great Forces for the Invasion of England; the next, "Some Attempt upon the Life of Mr. *Pym*; and all Occasions taken, to speak of the evil Council the King had about him, when scarce a Counsellor durst come near him, or be suspected to hear from him.

*The Committee revived, for drawing up a Remonstrance.*

After some time a new Bill was preferred in the House, "For the taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament, and for disabling them to hold any temporal Office in the Kingdom. To which it was objected, "That to prefer any Bill, which had been rejected the same Session, was contrary to the Course and Order of Parliament; but to this they replied in a great Noise, "That some Clauses in this Bill varied from the former, and that the Safety of the Kingdom hanged entirely upon it; and so, without any considerable Opposition, it passed the House, and was sent up to the Lords.

*A new Bill to take away Bishops Votes.*

In the mean time the Bishopricks of *Worcester*, *The King* *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, *Chichester*, and *Bristol* being void, by Death, or Translation, the King, during his Stay in Scotland, preferred to those Sees Dr. *Prideaux*,

*The King fills up divers vacant Bishopricks.*

Divinity Professor in Oxford; Dr. Winniff, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Brownerigg, Master of Catherin-Hall in Cambridge; Dr. Henry King, Dean of Lichfield; and Dr. Westfield, of Great St. Bartholomew's, London; all considerable Men in the Church, and not one liable to the least Exception.

*Which of-  
fends the  
Commons.*

The House of Commons, upon the News of this Designation, were much concerned, that the King should presume to erect new Bishops, when they were resolved to abolish the old; and therefore very earnestly urged, "That the Lords might be moved to join with 'em, in sending to the King, to defer making any new Bishops, 'till the Controversie concerning Church-Government should be decided: Which appeared so unreasonable, that the most Considerable among 'em, who wish'd it, had no Hopes of the King's Concurrence with 'em, or at least of His Compliance. However it was carried by the major Part, "That a Committee should be appointed, to draw up Reasons for the Lords, to join with them in that Desire to the King. But after that moved it no further. I remember, when it was voted a Committee should be appointed, they, who during the Debate had opposed the Thing, were called on to be of that Committee; amongst whom were the Lord Falkland, and Mr. Hyde, who "desired they might be excused from that Office; for having given so many Reasons against it, they could not conceive what could be urged in it's Behalf; and therefore thought the Business would be better done, if they, who were convinced themselves of the Reasonableness of it, would undertake to persuade other Men; Mr. Bond of Dorchester, a Man inveterate against the Church and Court, and who at that time sat by, begg'd 'em for God's sake to be of the Committee, for, said he, "we have none of our side can give Reasons. Which, tho'



tho' spoken suddenly, and upon Observation that their leading Men were then absent, made those who overheard him smile.

Being unable to prevent the Creation of the new Bishops, they urge the House of Peers to dispatch the Work before 'em, e'er they could by their Confirmation, and other Ceremonies, be qualified to increase the number of the Opposers, and demand with great Confidence, "That no Recusant Lord, "or any Bishop, may give his Vote in the passing "that Bill; the last being Parties, the other considered'd as improper Judges in the Kingdom's Behalf. But when they found their Logick too weak, they pressed with more Colour and Formality, that the thirteen Impeach'd Bishops might be expell'd the House 'till they should be brought to Judgment. And for this their House had Lawyers enow, who were not ashamed to build their senseless Proposition upon Law and Custom. But they had not yet deluded, or terrified the House of Peers so far, as to make 'em comply with their unreasonable Demand.

By this time the King was grown as weary of *Scotland*, as he had been desirous to go thither, finding all their Propositions made, as to a vanquish'd Person, without any respect to his Honour or Interest; without one Counsellor near him but the Duke of *Lenox*, and very few Followers.

That which ought to have been an Act of Oblivion, proved a Defence and Justification of whatever they had done, and their first Tumults termed Effects of their Duty to his Majesty. So whosoever in pursuance of their Duty had opposed or resisted 'em, were declared criminal, and were the only Persons exempted from Pardon and the Benefit of that Oblivion.

The Seditious Acts of their Assembly, which had expelled all Bishops from it, and maintained them-

selves to have a Power of inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures upon the King himself were declared "Lawful; "and the Government of the Church by Arch-Bishops and Bishops, they condemn'd, as contrary to "the Word of God, and therefore to be utterly extirpated, and their Lands to be given his Majesty, "his Heirs and Successors.

In consideration that the King must of necessity be absent from that his Native Kingdom, it was thought convenient "That the Absolute Government thereof should be entrusted with the Lords "of the Secret Council; who were likewise made "Conservators of the Peace of the two Kingdoms, "during the Intervals of Parliament, by whom these "Conservators were to be named, and which once "in three Years was to Assemble without any Summons from the King, if by such a Day he neglected the Publication of such Summons. And for the same Reason, "All great Officers, as Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary, and the rest, were to "be appointed by Parliament, or in the Interval by "the Lords of the Secret Council; without the least Regard to his Majesty's Choice or Approbation.

These Acts, and whatever else they thought fit to present to him concerning Church or State, his Majesty pass'd, and then made the Lord *Lowden*, the principal Manager of the Rebellion, an Earl and Chancellor of *Scotland*, and conferr'd the other great Offices as he was directed. The Earl of *Argyle* he made a Marquis, (for they had still left him the Power of conferring Honours) their great General *Lesley*, Earl of *Leven*; their Lieutenant-General, Earl of *Caender*; and conferr'd Honours on other Persons according to the Power and Inclination they had of hurting him. And lastly, (without any Consideration for his own Friends, except a Pardon he obtain'd for 'em from the Parliament, upon condition "They

“ They came not near his Presence, nor presumed  
 “ to receive any Benefit from him without their  
 “ Consent) his Majesty bestow’d all the Lands of  
 the Church, devolv’d to him by its Ruin, and what-  
 ever else he had to give in *Scotland*, to those who  
 discover’d it was not in good Hands before. So  
 that his Progress thither seem’d for nothing else, but  
 that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that  
 Kingdom; and therefore having nothing more to do  
 there, he set out for *England* about the Middle of  
*November*.

His Majesty did not sufficiently weigh the un-  
 speakable Encouragement, and in some respects the  
 reasonable Pretence, the Factious Party at home would  
 draw from the prosperous Wickedness of the *Scots*.  
 It’s certain their Number after this encreased won-  
 derfully, the Enemies of the Church concluding  
 the Work was half done to their Hands, when his  
 Majesty himself had declared, (and they would prove  
 his Assent to that Act to be such) that Episcopal  
 Government was contrary to the Word of God, and  
 obstructed the Propagation of Religion. Some who  
 in their Souls abhor’d what the *Scots* had done, yet  
 disdaining to be out-done, and out of pure Malice  
 to ’em, enter’d upon the same Resolutions they had  
 done; and so agreed to, and concurr’d in any exor-  
 bitant Motions. All which, the King’s Reception  
 at his Return made him sensible of, when it was too  
 late.

When first the News was brought of the King’s  
 setting out from *Scotland*, and that all things were  
 accommodated there to the general Satisfaction, the  
 Committee for preparing the Remonstrance offer’d  
 the Draught they had made to the House, and it was  
 order’d to be read. It contain’d a very malicious Ac-  
 count of all the Illegal Practices from the first Hour  
 of the King’s Succession to the Crown, down to

*The Re-  
 monstrance  
 read in the  
 House.*



that very Minute; with all possible Reflections upon the King himself, the Queen, and Council, that might serve to disturb the Minds of the People with unreasonable Jealousies of the Government, and Apprehensions of Popery.

It seemed generally to be disliked in the House, many saying "It was most unnecessary, for that all the Grievances set forth in it were already redressed; and it was unreasonable, when the King had conceded to 'em in whatever they desired, after so long an Absence to be now welcomed home with such a Load of Reproaches, for what others had done amiss, and which he himself had Reformed. Notwithstanding all which, the other Party deliver'd themselves with as high Expressions against the Government as ever, insinuating, That without a seasonable Care to disappoint some Counsels that were still listen'd to, they were in great Danger of losing all the good Acts they had obtained: And in the end prevailed to have a Day set apart, wherein the Remonstrance should be retaken into the Consideration of the whole House. And in the meantime made use of all their Credit and Cunning to persuade particular Men, that the passing the Remonstrance was the only Expedient to preserve and maintain all those good Laws they had already made; applying to different Persons, according to their particular Inclinations and Humour; assuring many it was design'd only to mortifie the Court, and curb the malignant Party that began then to be growing in the House; which being done, it should remain after that in the Clerk's Hands, and never be Publish'd.

When the Day came in which it was to be resumed, they spent all the Morning in other Debates, and call'd not for the Remonstrance 'till it was near Noon; and when some urged it was then too late to

enter

enter upon it, with great Difficulty they consented it should be deferr'd 'till the next Morning, and every Clause to be debated, the Speaker being in the Chair, for they thought it would take up too much time to resolve the House into a Committee. *Oliver Cromwell* (of little Repute at that time in the House) ask'd the Lord *Falkland* why he was for deferring it; for it might have met with a speedy Determination that very Day: And when my Lord answer'd, "There would not have been Time sufficient," for surely it would require some Debate; the other reply'd, "A very sorry one; concluding, by the Computation they had made, it would meet with but a slender Opposition.

But he quickly found he had been out in his reckoning; for the Debate beginning about Nine next Morning, it continued all that Day 'till Twelve at Night with much Passion, and the House dividing at last upon the Passing or not Passing it, it was carried in the Affirmative by the Majority of no more than Nine Voices; and thereupon Mr. *Hambden* moved, an Order might be made for the present Printing it, which created a sharper Debate than the former. Mr. *Hyde*, as soon as the Motion was made, said something warmly, "He believ'd it was not lawful " to Print it, before it was sent up to the House of " Peers for their Concurrence, and fear'd it might " be mischievous in the Effect; and therefore desired, if the Question when it was put should be carry'd in the Affirmative, he might have leave to enter his Protestation; whereupon *Jeffery Palmer*, and afterwards many others without Distinction, cry'd out " They did Protest; so that there was scarce any quiet Debate after it; but the House being compos'd by Degrees, about Two of the Clock in the Morning they unanimously consented to Adjourn 'till two the next Afternoon: And when the House rose,

## The HISTORY of

the Lord *Falkland* ask'd *Oliver Cromwell* "If there  
 "had been a Debate or no? He answer'd, "He would  
 "believe him another time, and assured him in his  
 Ear, "That had the Remonstrance been rejected he  
 "wou'd never have seen *England* more, and he knew  
 "many other honest Men of the same Resolution.  
 So near was the poor Nation at that time of being  
 delivered.

The Pride of this Victory did not in a long time  
 recover the Spirits they had lost, whilst it was in  
 suspense; they discern'd well enough, that tho' half  
 the Members were absent, not a Man of their Par-  
 ty was away, and therefore had small Hope in a ful-  
 ler House to carry any of their unjust Designs, un-  
 less they could by Hopes or Fears work upon the Af-  
 fections of the several Members.

In order to which, the greatest Part of the next  
 Day was spent in private Consultations, how to cor-  
 rect some of those, who had provok'd 'em the Day  
 before; and resolv'd not to admit that President,  
 "That Men should protest against the Sense of the  
 "House; which it's true was not usual. This was  
 the more readily embraced, because they should take  
 a hearty Revenge upon Mr. *Hyde*, to whose Activi-  
 ty they imputed their Yesterday's Trouble; and he  
 being the first that protested, or rather ask'd Leave  
 to do so, occasioned the subsequent Clamour; which  
 indeed was very disorderly. But here they were  
 divided among themselves; all the leading violent  
 Men were glad of this Opportunity to be rid of  
 Mr. *Hyde*; but Sir *John Hotham*, *Choldmondley*, and  
*Stapleton*, in memory to the Service he had done 'em  
 against the Court of *York*, oppos'd questioning of  
 him, but were ready to join in prosecuting the rest,  
 whereof there was a sufficient Number. This grew  
 to so great a Difference among 'em, that for the  
 present they agreed no farther, than that they would  
 take



take care that Afternoon, that the Matter should be enter'd upon the next Morning, and would consider at Night what Person to sacrifice. Mr. *Pym* lamented to the House, about Three a Clock, when it met, the Disorders of the Night before, "which," he said, might have engaged 'em in Blood; which "was owing principally to the Protestation offer'd," a thing never known there before, and a Transgression that ought to be severely examined into, "that no Mischief might hereafter flow from that Precedent; and therefore proposed the House would enter the next Morning upon that Examination, that Men in the mean time might recollect themselves, and they who were the most guilty might be named, and make the best of their Defence. With which Resolution the House adjourn'd; many wearing the Vexation of the Night before visible in their Countenances.

The next Morning they first enlarged themselves upon the Offence it self; that it never had been offered in that House before, and that they ought to take care it never should again, by a severe Judgment of the House upon those who had been first guilty of the Presumption.

Mr. *Hyde*, who knew nothing of their private Cabal, and had great reason to think himself the Person design'd, stood up (tho' some of his Northern Friends by their Signs, which he understood not, advised him to the contrary) and said, "It behov'd him to vindicate what he had done, since he was the first who mentioned the Protestation: Upon which there was a great Noise and Clamour "to withdraw, and as great "to speak. He went on and said, "He was not old enough to be acquainted with the Customs of That House, yet he knew any Man in the House of Peers might enter his Dissent against the Judgment of the House. That "he

“ he knew no reason why a Commoner should not  
 “ have the same Privilege, if he thought not fit to  
 “ be involved in a Vote, which might possibly prove  
 “ inconvenient to him. That he had not offer’d his  
 “ Protestation against the Remonstrance, because it  
 “ continued still within those Walls, but against the  
 “ Printing it, which he thought in many Respects  
 “ unlawful for them to do, and might be of dangerous  
 “ Consequence to the Publick Peace.

What he had said, and his Assurance in speaking it, gave ’em great Offence; and Mr. *Strode* could not refrain saying, “ That Gentleman had confess’d  
 “ enough himself, and therefore desired he might  
 “ withdraw; which many others likewise insisted upon; ’till Sir *John Horham* rose with some Warmth against it, and his Son accused Mr. *Palmer* as the first Occasion of the Disorder, by saying *I do protest*, without the Leave of the House first ask’d. And so Mr. *Palmer* was call’d upon in a great Noise and Confussion “ to explain; which as he was going to do, Mr. *Hyde* (who had so great a Love for him, that he had rather suffer himself than that he should) spoke to the Orders of the House, and said, “ It  
 “ was never known a Practice in that House, that a  
 “ Man should be call’d upon to explain what he had  
 “ said two Days before, which ’tis probable was  
 “ then lost to his Memory; and appeal’d to the  
 “ House, if they had any Precedent of that kind. And no doubt it was very Irregular: But they were too resolute to be diverted, ’till after a Debate of two Hours he himself desired, “ That to save the  
 “ House any farther Trouble, he might explain and  
 “ withdraw. Which he did. After a long Debate, and Night coming on, they order’d, “ That he  
 “ should be sent to the Tower; the hot Men among ’em urging earnestly, “ That he should be  
 “ expelled the House; having ow’d him a good turn  
 for

for his Civility to the Earl of *Strafford*, that is, because he loaded him not with that reproachful Language others had done; but at last they were glad to be contented with his Commitment to the Tower, from whence he was again in a few Days restored to the House. Just as the House rose that Day, they obtained, without much Opposition, an Order, to *The Remonstrance order'd to be Printed.* Print their Remonstrance; which, after many un-  
 cent Clauses and Expressions were expunged, contained in Substance, “That from the very Beginning of his Majesty’s Reign, there had been a pernicious Design of Subverting the fundamental Laws of the Nation. That the chief Promoters in it, were the Papists, the Bishops, the corrupt Part of the Clergy, and such at the Council-Board as had sold themselves to foreign Interests. Whose main Care was to sow Divisions between the King and his People, upon Questions of Prerogative and Liberty, and suppress the Purity of Religion, as the main *Remora* to the Change they undertook to introduce, countenancing such Opinions and Ceremonies in Religion that brought ours nearest to Popery, that so they might be able to compose a Body of *Papists*, *Arminians*, and *Libertines*, as were like to be conducive to their own Ends; and lastly, by rendring the King averse to Parliaments, and setting up other Methods of Supply, they had brought infinite Detriment to the King and People, and gave a Beginning to the Distractions that ensued.

They reproach’d his Majesty with “the Breach of the Parliament at *Oxford*, and the unfortunate Voyage to *Cadiz* in the Beginning of his Reign; “the Loss of *Rochel*, by which the reformed Religion in *France* infinitely suffered; the precipitate War with *France*, and Peace with *Spain*, without their Consent; and so throwing up the Cause of  
 “the



## The HISTORY of

“the *Palatinate*; and with a Design to force the  
 “Kingdom by some *German* Horſe, to ſubmit to  
 “ſuch arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be exacted  
 “from ‘em.

They remembred him “of his Billetting Sol-  
 “diers upon the Kingdom; of Coat and Conduct-  
 “Mony; of the Parliament diſſolved in the ſecond  
 “Year of his Reign, tho’ they had declared their  
 “Intent was to grant him five Subſidies; which he  
 “afterwards extorted by a Commiſſion of Loan; of  
 “ſeveral Gentlemen imprifoned, upon a Refuſal to  
 “pay it; ſome whereof died in Priſon by Diſeaſes  
 “contracted there; of great Sums raiſed by the Coun-  
 “cil; and of the Excife.

They remember’d him “of the Parliament diſ-  
 “ſolved in the Fourth Year of his Reign; and the  
 “Imprifonment of ſome Members, for Words ſpoken  
 “in Parliament, one of which died in Priſon, for want  
 “of ordinary Suſtenance, whoſe Blood ſtill cried for  
 “Vengeance. That Juſtice, Oppreſſion, and Vio-  
 “lence broke in upon ‘em, without any Reſtraint,  
 “after the Diſſolution of that Parliament: How he  
 “had enlarged his Foreſts, and what Compoſitions  
 “were made thereupon: How he had levied a new  
 “Tax of Ship-mony; notwithstanding which, the  
 “Merchants were expoſed to the Violence of the  
 “*Turkiſh* Pirates.

They ſet forth “the extravagant Cenſures of the  
 “Star-Chamber; the rigorous and illegal Proceed-  
 “ings of the Council-Table, and other new invent-  
 “ed Judicatories; the exceſſive Sharpneſs and Seve-  
 “rity of the High-Commiſſion Court, (whereby  
 “ſeveral Learned, Pious Miniſters were ſuſpended,  
 “excommunicated, and deprived) which they ſaid  
 “almost equalled the *Romiſh* Inquiſition.

They accuſed him “of the Liturgy and Canons  
 “ſent into *Scotland*, and forcing that Nation to arm  
 “in

“in their own Defence; of the Pacification, and  
 “Breach of that Pacification; how he afterwards  
 “called a Parliament, in Hopes to corrupt it, and  
 “make it countenance his War upon *Scotland*, which  
 “when it would not do, he dissolved it, and then  
 “imprisoned some of the Members; and forced Men  
 “to lend Mony against their Wills, and sent such as  
 “refused to Prison.

In a Word, they omitted not one Error in Government, or passionate Exercise of Power, from the Death of the late King to the unhappy Meeting of the present Parliament.

Then they extolled their own Services; “That  
 “they had redeemed the Kingdom from those Difficulties they found it groaning under, and which  
 “at first seemed to be insuperable: That they had  
 “confounded Ship-mony, and all Monopolies; and  
 “so quelled those living Grievances, the evil Counsellors, by the Justice done to the Earl of *Strafford*; the Flight of *Finch*, and *Windebank*; the Accusation and Confinement of the Arch-Bishop; that the present Times were not only eased, but  
 “the future like to be preserved.

They recounted “all the good Laws, and the Benefit redounding to the Nation from those Laws; and complained of what Obstructions they met with, in pursuing the wholesom Designs they had entertained for the Benefit of the Nation. That  
 “a malignant Party had endeavor’d to imprint an ill Opinion in his Majesty of their Proceedings; as  
 “if they had obtained many things from him detrimental to the Crown, in Respect of Prerogative and Profit; to obviate which Slander, they declared  
 “their principal End had been his Majesty’s Greatness, Honour, and Support.

Then

Then they slightly passed over his Majesty's Graces and Favours; "as being little more than was  
"their Due, and no Prejudice to himself.

Then they reproach'd the malignant Party, "That  
"had endeavoured to sow Jealousies between them  
"and their good Brethren of *Scotland*; and that had  
"so strong a Party of Bishops and Popish Lords in  
"the House of Peers, as obstructed the passing ma-  
"ny wholesom Bills sent up from the House of Com-  
"mons; that had attempted to poison the late Ar-  
"my, and bring it up against the Parliament and  
"City of *London*; had raised the Rebellion in *Ire-*  
"*land*, which if not prevented by their Wisdom,  
"they had done here likewise.

Then they declared, "They intended to have a  
"general Synod, consisting of the most Learned,  
"Judicious Divines of this Kingdom, which, with the  
"Assistance of some from abroad, professing the same  
"Religion, should consult of all things requisite to  
"the Peace and good Government of the Church:  
"That they would provide a handsom Competency  
"for Consciencious and Preaching Ministers through-  
"out the Nation: That they intended to reform  
"the two Universities, that the Streams derived  
"from those Fountains might be clear and incor-  
"rupt, and prove an Honour and Comfort to the  
"whole Land. That they would petition his Ma-  
"jesty, to make Choice of such Ministers and Am-  
"bassadors at home and abroad, as his Parliament  
"could put a Confidence in; otherwise they could  
"not grant him such Supplies for his own Support,  
"or such Assistance for the Protestant Party abroad,  
"as should be desired.

They declared withal, "That the Commons  
"might upon good Grounds, except against some  
"Men from being Counsellors, and yet not charge 'em  
"with any particular Crimes; for that there are ma-  
"ny



“ny Reasons for Diffidence, that lay not in Proof.  
“That all good Means should be used to unite the  
“two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in a mutual Defence of each other, for the common Good  
“and Honour of both; with other Matters of this Nature.

I know not how those Men, who having perhaps with great Diligence labour'd to procure their Countries Trust, can answer to God and their own Consciences, that supine Laziness, Negligence, and unseasonable Absence, which were the first Inlets to those Inundations. By which means a handful of Men came to prescribe Laws to the major Part, and by Degrees converted or reduced the whole Body to their Opinions.

The King laboured at that time under greater Disadvantage, than himself, or any of his Progenitors had done before; having no Servant of Interest or Ability in the House of Commons, that were faithful or affectionate to him; Sir *Thomas Fermyn*, through an Indisposition of Health, and Concern for his Son's Misfortune, having left the House and Court for a Retirement into the Country; and Sir *Harry Vane*, who had so much offended the King, that he knew he could not be forgiven, and abused the Country too much to be forgotten, resigned himself entirely to the Disposal of his new Masters. Mr. *Saint-John*, who as Solicitor-General had tied himself by a particular Oath, “To maintain and defend his Majesty's Rights, was the chief Stickler against him. So that whilst these Men were intent upon the Confusion they were to set on Foot, those, who were sincere for the King's Interest, without any Relation to his Service, or Expectations from the Court, but out of an abstracted Sense of Loyalty, preserved their Innocence, and laboured to support the good Frame of the Government, received

ed neither Encouragement nor Assistance from those whose Duty it was naturally to take Care of that Province.

If that Stratagem (tho' none of the best) of gaining Men by Places, had been put in Practice, as soon as the Resolution was taken at *York*, of calling a Parliament; and if Mr. *Pym*, and others, had been preferred with Mr. *Saint-John*, whilst they had Innocence enough about 'em to trust the King, and to be trusted by him, being not yet personally exasperated against him, it is to be imagined, they would rather have contributed to the Support of the Royal Building, of which they were made Principal Pillars, than have set their Hands to the pulling it down about their own Ears.

But the Rule the King prescribed himself, that they should first deserve, before they should receive any Favour, tho' at another time it might have been proper, was then very unseasonable. Since, as on one Hand they could not really serve him, without that Qualification, so it was not to be expected on the other, they would upon no Encouragement desert their own Party. And so whilst his Majesty expected they should demonstrate their Inclinations to his Service, by their Moderation in those Proceedings with which he was most offended, and they laboured, by doing all the Mischief they could, to make it appear, how much they were able to do him good, he grew so far provoked and disobliged, they so obnoxious and guilty, that not thinking themselves secure in his Favour, they continued vigorously to oppress that Power they had injured.

The City, notwithstanding all these Arts to lessen the Reputation of the Court, made great Preparations for his Majesty's Reception. *Gourney*, then Lord Mayor, was highly scandalized to see the City poisoned by the Artifices of factious Heads: And therefore

therefore received the King with all the Lustre and Countenance, and as hearty Professions of Duty as his Majesty could expect, or the City express: And therefore on the 23d of *November* the King enter'd *London*, with the highest Acclamations of Joy from the Citizens, and after a sumptuous Entertainment by the Lord Mayor, at the *Guild-Hall*, where the King, Queen, and Prince, with the whole Court were Feasted, the whole City attended him to *White-hal*, where, upon his coming, the Earl of *Essex* resigned his Commission of General on this side *Trent*, which had been granted for the Safeguard of the Kingdom, during his Majesty's Absence in the *North*.

The next Day at *Hampton-Court*, he took away the Seals from Sir *Harry Vane*, and appointed the Guard, which had been kept at *Westminster*, to be dismiss'd; and shortly after issued out a Proclamation, "For Obedience to be given to the Laws established, for the Exercise of Religion.

The Managers in the House were nettled at these Proceedings, and the Entertainment the King met with in the City; yet they seemed to abate nothing of their usual Heat, but resolved to present their Remonstrance, together with a Petition, in which they complained "of a malignant Party, who prevailed "so far, as to introduce divers of their Instruments "into the Privy-Council; to which, among other "wicked Matters, they imputed the Rebellion of "the Papists in *Ireland*; and therefore in Order to "their Suppression, they desired, his Majesty would "concur with his People in a Parliamentary Way, "to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament; (tho' the House of Peers had not yet passed the Bill to that Purpose) "that he would drive from his "Council such Persons as continued to favour any "of the Oppressions, with which the Nation

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"had



"had been grieved, and for the future employ such  
 "about him, as the Parliament had Reason to con-  
 "side in. That he would forbear to alienate any  
 "of the Lands in *Ireland*, which should be forfeited  
 "to the Crown, by means of the Rebellion. Which  
 "Concessions from his Majesty would (they said)  
 "encourage 'em chearfully to apply themselves to such  
 "Courses, as should support his Royal Estate, make  
 "him considerable abroad, and loved at home, and  
 "lay a firm Foundation of Greatness and Prosperity  
 "to him and his Royal Posterity in future times.

This Petition was presented, with the Remon-  
 strance, to his Majesty at *Hampton-Court*, on the 1st  
 of *December*, and both were shortly after by Order  
 Printed, and very industriously spread about the  
 Kingdom, tho' the King desired they would defer  
 the Publication of either, 'till they had received his  
 Answer; which he shortly after sent, telling 'em,  
 "with how much Unparliamentariness they had pub-  
 "lished their Remonstrance, of which the World  
 "should have such a Sense from him, as his Pru-  
 "dence and Honour should direct. That he should  
 "be as ready to punish that malignant Party they  
 "mention in their Petition, if they would but dis-  
 "cover 'em to him, as they could be to desire it.  
 "That he had convinced the World, how far he  
 "was from protecting any evil Counsellors, when he  
 "so readily exposed those to Trial they had requir-  
 "ed of him, as he would still do, if they would  
 "produce a particular Charge against any one of 'em,  
 "but he wish'd they would forbear such general A-  
 "sperisions, for in that they reflected upon the whole  
 "Body of his Council. As to the Choice of his  
 "Counsellors and Ministers of State, he told 'em,  
 "he hoped they would not deny him the Right all  
 "Freemen have, but suffer him to call such to his  
 "seeret Council, and publick Employment, as he  
 "should

“should think fit; and he would take Care to make  
 “choice of such as were eminent for their Abilities,  
 “and against whom there could be no just Cause of  
 “Exception. That in what related to the Bishops,  
 “they should consider they had a Right to vote in  
 “Parliament, as well by the Constitutions of that,  
 “as the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

“As for what concerned Religion and publick  
 “Worship, if the Parliament advised him to call a  
 “National Synod, he would consider of it, and give  
 “’em all reasonable Satisfaction therein, being resolv-  
 “ed to maintain the Doctrine and Discipline esta-  
 “blished by Law, as well against all Popish Invasi-  
 “ons, as from all Irreverence of Schismaticks and  
 “Separatists, with which it was now too nearly  
 “threatned, and against which his Majesty required  
 “their vigorous Assistance.

“As to what concerned *Ireland*, he questioned,  
 “whether Resolutions of that Nature were proper  
 “to be declared before War was determined: How-  
 “ever he thank’d ’em for their Advice, and conjur’d  
 “’em to lose no time in furnishing the Supplies thi-  
 “ther, and to chastise the Insolence and Cruelty of  
 “the Rebels, which was every Day increasing.

They grew never the better for this Answer, but  
 under-hand induced the People to believe, that the  
*Irish* Rebellion was influenced by the Court, the  
 Scandal of which Aspersions they knew would stick  
 upon the Queen’s Skirts.

Letters came daily from *Ireland*, pressing for Re-  
 lief of Men, Mony, and Provisions, which was not  
 provided equal to Mens Expectations, tho’ it was  
 earnestly recommended by the King to the Houses  
 upon his coming from *Scotland*. The slow raising  
 of Men was imputed to the Difficulty of getting  
 Volunteers; and therefore a Bill was prepared for  
 Pressing, which quickly pass’d the House, and was

*A Bill in  
 the House  
 of Com-  
 mons, for  
 pressing  
 Men for  
 Ireland.*

sent up to the Lords. It was not to be thought, Men could be wanting within three Months after the Army was disbanded in the *North*; but their Business was to get Power, not to raise Men; and therefore they made Use of the Stratagem, to translate the Power of pressing Men from the King to themselves; for in the Preamble of this Bill they declared, "That the King could in no Case, but upon  
"an Invasion from a foreign Power, press a Freeborn  
"Subject.

This was a new Doctrine to the Lords, and seemed much to derogate from that Royal Power, without which he could not preserve his own Subjects, nor assist his Allies, which in many Cases he was obliged to; and therefore the Attorney-General took the Courage "to desire of the Lords (as he should have done oftner in other Cases) "that he might be  
"heard on the King's Behalf, before they consented  
"to a Clause so prejudicial to his Prerogative. This necessary Stop put an unseasonable one upon the Affairs of *Ireland*; the House of Commons ordered their Committee to meet no more about that Business, and declared, the Loss of *Ireland* must lye at the Lords Door, who were too sensible of the Inconveniencies that arose by their former Compliance, to be ensnared by the same Logick.

In the mean time Letters came daily from *Ireland*, deploring their miserable Condition. In this Strait they were at a Nonplus, for whatever Speeches they were pleased to make concerning the Lords, it was manifest they would bear all the Blame: Besides, that his Majesty would thereby take Occasion to remove the whole Business out of their Hands, and manage it himself in his Council, which would prejudice their Reputation and Interest, and very much embarrass their Projections.

Where-



Whereupon Mr. *Saint-John* (a Man who could be trusted in any Company) told his Majesty in private, "How much he was troubled at the Interruption given by the Commons, who unreasonably insisted upon a Preamble so prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative. That it would be very happy, if an Expedient could be found out to remove that Rub, so fatal to the *Irish* Affairs; and advised his Majesty, "To come to the Houses, and express his Princely Zeal for the Relief of *Ireland*; and then taking notice of the Bill depending, to offer, that the Bill, to avoid further Disputes, might pass with a *Salvo jure* to the King and People, referring such Disputes to Times that could better bear them.

This Advice his Majesty follow'd, and so did their Business for 'em, (which I think they cou'd have compass'd no other way) for now the divided Lords and Commons presently unite in a Petition to the King, "Acknowledging his Royal Favour and Protection to be a great Blessing and Security to 'em, "in the Preservation of those private and publick Liberties and Privileges belonging to 'em; of which "when any were infringed, they were bound humbly to appeal to his Justice for Redress and Satisfaction; because the Rights and Privileges of Parliament were the Birth-right and Inheritance, not "only of themselves, but the whole Kingdom: One "of which Privileges undoubtedly was, That his Majesty was to take notice of no Debate depending in either House, but by their Information and Agreement, or to declare his Approbation or Dislike of "any thing, 'till in due Course it was presented to him; they declared the Speech his Majesty had lately made to 'em, was a great Breach of those Privileges; and therefore besought him that he "would not for the time to come break in, or interrupt

“em, and would declare the Name of such Person, “by whose Mis-information he was induced to it, “that he might be punished as he deserved; and this “they did advise his Majesty to do, as the surest “way to procure and confirm a Confidence and U- “nity betwixt him and his People.

After this they no more consider’d *Ireland*, ’till that manifest Breach should be repaired, and therefore when the King offered “to raise by Commissions ten “thousand Volunteers for the Service of *Ireland*, upon “Condition the Houses would declare to see ’em paid, the Proposal was absolutely rejected; for they were unwilling such a Strength of Men should be raised by the King’s Direction, (which might probably be more at his Devotion than they desired) nor in any other Method than what they proposed: So at last (after the Intervention of several other ill Accidents, that shall be remember’d in their proper Place) he was forc’d to pass the Bill as they had prepared it.

The King however for all this, and perhaps the better for all this, found the Houses much better disposed upon his Arrival at *Whitehal*, than they had been some time before. Many being highly scandalized to see his Majesty so ill used by his own Servants, and those he had obliged with so much Bounty and Magnificence. Those who were truly zealous for the Preservation of the Laws, Religion, and Interest of the Nation, were as careful of the King’s Honour and Dignity: So that that which was called the King’s Party in both Houses, consisted of such who were Strangers to the Court, and were Men of the best Fortunes and Reputation in their several Countries; having been always very zealous in the Preservation of their just Rights, and opposed, as much as they could, all Illegal Impositions. Whilst his own Pri-  
vy

vy-Counsellors for the most part, and all his own Servants, either Opposed him in publick, or privately Betray'd him.

There was about this time a Debate started in the House, as if meerly by Accident, that was almost the sole Ground of the Mischiefs that ensued; upon a Discourse of something that happened whilst the late Army was disbanding, an obscure Member moved, "That the House would consider if the Militia were so settled by Law, that a sufficient Force might be suddenly drawn together to suppress any Insurrection or Rebellion, if it should be attempted."

*A Proposal in the House of Commons of a Committee to consider the present State of the Militia.*

The House sat silent for a long time, most Men being amused by the Newness of the Motion, and few diving into the Drift of it, 'till some of the least observable seeming to be moved with the Weight of the Motion, it was at last proposed, "A Committee should be appointed to consider of the present State of the Militia, and the Power of it, and provide such a Bill for the settling it, as might make good the publick Peace, and repel any Foreign Enemy, or Domestick Insurrection. Against which Mr. Hyde rose, and said, "That without doubt the King, who had the just Power of making War and Peace, had likewise that of the Militia residing in him; that as yet no Defect of Power dangerous to the Kingdom had appeared, and we might reasonably hope there never would. With this the House seem'd well satisfied, 'till Saint-John stood up, and said, "He could not suffer a Debate containing so many weighty Particulars to be laid aside, without some Resolution; that he should be very glad if that Power were vested in the King, which for his part he knew there was not. That the Debate was not about taking any Power away from the King, but to enquire if such a Power



“ were placed in him, or any where else, as was ne-  
 “ cessary for the Preservation of the King and Peo-  
 “ ple; if there was not, then to supply him with  
 “ such a Power and Authority. He bid 'em remem-  
 “ ber, how the Crown had issued out Commissions  
 “ to great Men to be Lords Lieutenants of Coun-  
 “ ties, and they to others to be Deputy-Lieutenants;  
 “ and to consider what Votes had been pass'd, upon  
 “ what had been done by vertue of such Commis-  
 “ sions; so that he did presume no Man would here-  
 “ after venter to execute any such Commission, let  
 “ the Necessity be never so urgent; and therefore  
 “ they ought to consider if there was not a Defect  
 “ of Power, and how it was to be supplied.

By this it appeared the Debate was not begun accidentally, but upon Deliberation, and what use they would upon occasion draw from those Volumes of Votes, they had poured out upon accidental Debates. Nor cou'd any Man be so hardy as to say those Votes were valid, or that the King's Right must be the same notwithstanding: And this being urged by the King's Solicitor-General, they order'd him to prepare and bring in such a Bill as he thought proper; few Men imagining but he would be very tender of all his Master's Prerogatives, which he was sworn to defend.

A few Days after he preferr'd a very short Bill, which contain'd in the Preamble, “ That the Power  
 “ over the Militia was not settled sufficiently for the  
 “ Security of the Kingdom, in case of any sudden  
 “ Accidents; and then an Enacting Clause, “ That  
 “ henceforward the Militia, and all the Power there-  
 “ of, should be vested in ——— &c. leaving a large  
 Blank to insert Names; and afterwards, “ The ab-  
 “ solute Authority to execute ——— &c. the ill  
 Meaning of which was readily understood; and with  
 some Warmth press'd, “ That this Bill would re-  
 “ fume

“fume all Power out of the Crown, and vest it in  
“Commissioners. To which the Solicitor replied,  
“That the Bill took no Power from those who had  
“it, but provided to place it where it was not; nor  
“were any Commissioners named, but a Blank left  
“to be filled up, as the House thought fit, and the  
“Power placed in such Hands as they should judge  
“proper, in the King’s for ought he knew, and he  
“hoped it would be so.

With this the Bill was received and read; many  
who had been formerly Deputy-Lieutenants, and lay  
under the Lash, hoping this Settlement would provide  
for the Indemnity of all that had passed before, con-  
curr’d in the Desire, that some Provision might be  
made for a general Security. The Contrivers of it  
were well enough satisfied that it was once read,  
not designing to proceed in it, ’till some more fa-  
vourable Opportunity; and so it rested.

The King not being well satisfied in Sir William *The King dismisses Sir William Balfour* Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower; and finding the  
seditious Preachers gained Ground every Day in the  
City, resolved to put that Place into the Hands of  
such a Man as he could really trust; but being un-  
willing to disoblige the other, he presented him with  
3000 *four from the Lieutenantship of the Tower.* l. raised by Sale of some of the Queen’s own Jew-  
els, and immediately gave Colonel *Col. Lunsford put in his Place.* Lunsford his Com-  
mand.

This was no sooner known, than the House of  
Commons concerned themselves in it; and pretend-  
ing “so Excellent a Man, (for his safe keeping the  
Earl of *Strafford*) “as Sir William Balfour was, could  
“not be removed without some Design upon the  
“City and Kingdom; and that the Man who was  
“to succeed him, was a Person of great Licence.  
They therefore desired the Lords to join with ’em  
in a Petition to the King, “That the Tower might  
“be entrusted in better Hands.

The

The Lords replied, "The Custody of the Tower was solely in the King's Disposal, and therefore they could not be competent Advisers in it. Tho' at the same time they privately intimated their Advice to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to make Choice of a fitter Person, against whom there could be no Exception. For indeed Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was not then thought equal to so envious a Province; thereupon he resigned the Place, and the King gave it Sir *John Byron*.

They receiv'd little Satisfaction from this Change, since no regard was had to the Person of their Recommendation. Yet they were pleas'd to find, tho' they could not make a Man, they had Power by their Clamour to mar one.

All this while the Bill for removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers was depending before 'em, and like to make as small a Progress as it had done six Months before; it being evident the Commons invaded the Jurisdiction of the Peerage, so it was unreasonable to part with any of their Supporters. Yet the People's Virulence against 'em still encreas'd; no Church was frequented, wherein they were not declaimed against as Antichristian; and that infamous *Burton* Printed a Sermon he had Preach'd at *Westminster*, under the Title of *The Protestation Protested*, wherein he maintained, "The late Protestation obliged all Men to expel both Bishops and the Liturgy out of the Church, as Impious and Papistical; whilst all the truly Orthodox Divines in *England* went under the Notion of Scandalous Ministers, and if the vilest Fellow in a Parish could be brought to prefer a Petition against one of 'em, he was sure to be prosecuted as such.

At last a Petition was Publish'd in the Name of the Apprentices in and about *London*; and directed "To the King's most Excellent Majesty in  
"the



"the Parliament now Assembled: Shewing, They  
 "forefaw great Mischiefs coming upon 'em, to nip  
 "'em in the Bud upon their first Entrance into the  
 "World, the Cause of which they could impute to  
 "none but the *Papists* and Prelates, and their Party.  
 "They desired his Majesty in Parliament to observe,  
 "That notwithstanding the unwearied Industry of  
 "the House of Commons, to root out Popery and  
 "Popish Innovators, all their pious Endeavours  
 "were ineffectual; which had encouraged many de-  
 "perate Men to plot against the Peace and Safety of  
 "his Dominions; witness the unheard of Cruelties  
 "acted by the *Papists* in *Ireland*; and therefore they  
 "desired Care might be taken of all Popish Lords,  
 "and other Eminent *Papists*; the Laws against *Je-*  
 "*suits* put in Execution; and that Prelacy might be  
 "rooted up: That so the Work of Reformation  
 "might go on chearfully; their distracting Fears be  
 "removed; the Freedom of Commerce and Trade  
 "be supported, for the Encouragement of the Petri-  
 "tioners, &c.

This, and such like Stuff, being industriously  
 spread abroad, great Multitudes of mean Persons as-  
 sembled at *Westminster*, and flock'd about the House  
 of Peers, crying up and down, *No Bishops, no Bi-*  
*shops.*

The King (as was said before) having dismiss'd  
 the Guards attending the two Houses, the Com-  
 mons (for the Lords refused to join with them) Pe-  
 tion'd his Majesty, "In regard of some Designs  
 "they apprehended from the *Papists*, that they might  
 "keep such a Guard about 'em as they thought ne-  
 "cessary.

*The Com-  
mons Peti-  
tion the  
King for a  
Guard.*

To which his Majesty answer'd, "That he knew  
 "they had no just Reason to fear, but were as se-  
 "cure as himself and his Children, yet since they  
 "express'd such Apprehensions of Danger, he would  
 "order.

“order a sufficient Guard for ’em; and thereupon appointed the Train-bands of *Westminster* and *Middlesex*, in fit Numbers to attend.

This Security was not approved of, and it was ask’d, *Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?* And when the Rabble came first down, and with great Rudeness press’d to the House of Peers, the Earl of *Dorset*, who was then Lord Lieutenant of *Middlesex*, in great Passion bid the Guard fire upon ’em, which frighted the Rabble, and sent ’em in haft away.

But the Commons were highly provoked at this Usage of their Friends; and talk’d of accusing the Earl of *Dorset* of High-Treason, at least of Impeaching him for some Judgment he had been Party to in the Star-Chamber, or Council-Table; and by these Hints teaching him how careful he was to behave himself, they concluded to have no Guard at all, since they could not have such as pleas’d them; declaring, “Every Member might have his own Servant attending at the Door, arm’d with what Weapons they thought fit.

*Great Tumults about the House of Peers.*

It was quickly known abroad, the Commons took their Neighbours Visits very kindly; so that they crowded in greater Numbers than before about the House of Peers, still bawling out with one Voice, *No Bishop, No Popish Lords*; affronting, and calling those they knew favoured not their Ends, *Rottenhearted Lords*.

Hereupon the House of Peers complain’d, at a free Conference with the Commons, of these Tumults, telling ’em, “Such Disorders would make their Freedom questionable, and so cast a Blemish on those good Laws they had already made, and prevent making any more, and therefore desired they would join with them in a Declaration for suppressing such Riots. This Conference was no sooner reported

ported than laid aside by the Commons, "for Mat-  
ters of more weighty Concern.

The Insolences of these Tumults encreased; and when many dissolute prophane People, who were got into the Abby, and would have pulled down the Organ, and some Ornaments of the Church, were by Force driven out, they threaten'd "they would return with greater Numbers, and pull down the Church it self.

Upon this the Lords sent again to the Commons, and desired 'em to concur with 'em in the Declaration. But this Conference could not be obtain'd, the Debate being still adjourn'd to some other time, after several Speeches to justifie and commend their Affections; some saying, "They would not discourage their Friends, for this was a Time they must make use of all Friends. Mr. *Pym* himself saying, "God forbid they should by any Means dishearten People from obtaining their Desires in such a way.

The Lords finding they could obtain nothing this way, required the Advice of the Judges, "What Course they might lawfully take to suppress those Tumults; and thereupon directed the Lord Keeper to issue out a Writ upon the Statute of *Northampton* to the Sheriff and Justices to set a strong Watch in such Places as they judg'd most convenient, to hinder that unlawful Conflux of People to *Westminster*, to the Disturbance of their Consultations. In Obedience to which, the Justices of Peace appointed Constables to stand at the Waterside, and other Places, with a strong Watch, to prevent that unlawful Resort.

But this was no sooner done than the House of Commons sent for the Constables, and examining their Warrants, required 'em to discharge their Watches; and tho' it appeared that what was done was in pursuance of a Legal Writ, without ever conferring with

*The Lords direct a Writ to be issued out to appoint Watches.*

*But they are discharged by the House of Commons.*



with the Lords about it, they Voted the setting such a Watch " A Breach of Privilege; and sent one of the Justices of Peace, who according to his Oath had executed that Writ, to the Tower.

Upon this Encouragement all the factious schismatical People about Town assembled themselves by the Sound of a Bell, or some other Token, as well by Night as Day, in the Fields, or some proper Place, to consult, and be directed by those who had the Disposal of them. And a Meeting of this Nature being held in *Southwark*, the Constable, a sober Man, and an Enemy to such seditious Acts, got in among 'em to observe what they were doing, but he was no sooner discover'd than they fell upon him in so barbarous a manner, that his Life was in danger.

Of this Complaint was made upon Oath to the next Justices, whereupon the Sheriff was directed by Writ to impanel in lawful Jury to enquire into that Riot. This was complain'd of in the House, as an Act that touch'd their Privileges, " For, said " they, that Meeting was made by godly and well- " affected Men, with no other Design than to pre- " pare a Petition against Bishops, and that the Con- " stable, who was a Friend to Bishops, came in to " hinder a Subscription to so wholsom a Petition. Upon this the House order'd, " An Injunction to " the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey*, not to suffer any " Proceedings to be made upon any Inquisition, in " which any Persons were concern'd who met toge- " ther to subscribe a Petition to be presented that " House

The Tu-  
mults in-  
crease a-  
bout  
Whitehal  
and West-  
minster.

Thus all the Barriers of the Law were thrown down, and the Conflux grew more numerous about *Westminster*, the Mob sometimes in their Passage from *Whitehal* the City thither making a Halt before *Whitehal*, would cry out, *No Bishops, No Bishops, No Popish Lords;*

Lords; adding, "They would bear with a Porter's Lodge no longer, but would speak with the King when they thought fit. At *Westminster* they pulled Papers out of their Pockets, and read the Names of several Persons aloud, calling 'em *Disaffected Members of the House of Commons*, and many of the Lords *False, evil, and rotten-hearted Lords*. They threatened to pull down the Lodgings where the Bishops lay; attempted to force the Doors of the Abby, where a strong Guard was constantly kept; insulted the Persons of some Bishops in their Coaches: And had not the Arch-Bishop of *York* met with a seasonable Rescue, 'tis thought he would have been murdered by 'em. So that all the Bishops, and several Members of both Houses, withdrew from their Attendance in Parliament, out of a serious Sense of the Danger their Lives were in.

*Whereupon the Bishops and some others withdrew.*

The King all this while resided at *Whitehal*, where, besides his usual Retinue, many Officers of the late Army, who solicited their Arrears, and an Employment in the *Irish* War, upon a View of the Insolence of the Rabble, and the Danger the Court might be in, offer'd themselves for a Guard to his Majesty's Person, and were entertain'd with more Ceremony than upon a just Computation of all Distempers; was at that Time thought seasonable. These Officers, provok'd at the Insolence of that vile Crew, treated 'em first with Words of great Contempt, which being returned with equal Scorn, they cudgell'd some of the most pragmatical among 'em. This the Commons interpreted a Levying War by the King, and seemed much to pity the poor People, that were so treated when they came with Petitions to them; and was an Argument for the strengthening their Numbers. From these Contests rose the Terms of *Round-head* and *Cavalier*, which afterwards served to distinguish the two Parties.

*Some Officers repel the Mob about Whitehal,*

*Hence the Terms of Round-head and Cavalier.*

The

*The Lord Falkland made Secretary of State, and Sir John Colepepper Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

The King having at that time no Member in the House of any Relation to his Service, that would be zealous in it; he resolved to call the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, Knight of the Shire for *Kent*, to his Council, and to make the former Secretary of State, the other Chancellor of the Exchequer. They both had great Authority in the House, and having no Dependance upon the Court, what they said made the more Impression. His Majesty knew 'em well disposed to his Service, and the Quiet of the Kingdom. No Man could be more surprized than the Lord *Falkland* was, when he had an Intimation of the King's Purpose. He never pretended to be a Courtier, nor had any Veneration for the Court, but only such a Loyalty to the King, as the Law required of him. Two Considerations were of the greatest Weight with him, one, lest the World should think his own Ambition solicited that Promotion for him, and had opposed the Proceedings of the House, the better to ingratiate himself with the Court: The other, lest the King should expect such a Resignation of himself and his Reason, which he could never submit to; for he was so perfect an Adorer of Truth, that he could as easily turn a Thief as an Hypocrite.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was in most Credit with him, found it a difficult Task to persuade him to submit to the King's Purpose chearfully, by assuring him, that in the most laborious Parts of his Office he would assist him the best he could; but above all setting before him the ill Consequence of his Refusal, which would be imputed to his Dislike of the Court, as if more would be required of him, than his Conscience would suffer him to comply with. On the other Hand, the great Advantage the King would probably reap by his Promotion, in such a general Defection; that he could thereby have an



Opportunity of giving the King a juster Information of his own Condition, and that of the Kingdom, than 'tis to be supposed had of late been given him; besides he would be better able to serve the King in the House, where he was too well known to have it thought he attained his Promotion by any unworthy Means, or sinister Application. In the End he was prevailed with to submit to the King's Pleasure, and he, and *Colepepper* were both invested in those Offices, to the no small Resentment of the governing Party, who could not conceal how angry they were any of their Members should presume to accept of those Preferments, which they intended should have been otherways disposed of. But to all those, both within and without the House, who wish'd well to the King and Kingdom, this Preferment was highly grateful.

The King resolved at the same time to remove another Officer, that abused him most shamefully, and prefer Mr. *Hyde* to his Place, who positively refused it, and assured his Majesty, "That he could do him better Service as he was; that he had the Honour to be very intimate with the two Persons his Majesty had so seasonably advanc'd, and by his Conversation with them should be so well instructed, that he could be more useful to his Service, than if he was under a nearer Relation to it. The King, with a gracious Countenance, replied, "He found he must for some time defer the Desire he had of obliging him, but assured him, he would both find a proper Time, and suitable Promotion for him, which he should not refuse. In the meantime he wish'd those three would consult together, how to manage his Affairs in the House, and declared, he would do nothing that concerned his Service in the House of Commons, but by their joint Advice. Which I believe was then his Majesty's

jeſty's ſtedfaſt Reſolution, tho' in a very few Days he unfortunately ſwerved from it.

The Biſhops, who (as was before obſerved) were driven from the Houſe of Peers, and found little Security in their own, could not attend with Patience as they ought to have done 'till the Storm was over. And therefore, being influenc'd by the reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit of Dr. *Williams*, then Arch-Biſhop of *York*, they expoſed themſelves to ſuch a Diſadvantage, which all their Enemies could never have brought upon 'em. He was one of thoſe the Rabble ſo roughly handled, as has been ſaid before; upon which being juſtly provoked, he returned to his Houſe, the Deanery at *Weſtminſter*, and ſent for all the Biſhops that were then in Town, about twelve or thirteen in Number, and with his natural Impetuofity propoſed, "That they would unanimouſly prepare and ſend to the Houſe a Proteſtation againſt the Force had been uſed upon them, and againſt whatever Acts ſhould paſs during their Abſence, which was occaſioned by that Force. Which having himſelf immediately drawn up, they all approved, relying upon his great Experience in the Rules of the Houſe, where he had been a Member for many Years, and ſate in ſome Parliaments as Speaker, whiſt he was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and ſo without any farther Communication or Advice upon ſo important a Matter, conſidering rather what was right, than prudential, as ſoon as it was fairly engroſſed, they all ſet their Hands to it. This the Arch-Biſhop immediately preſented to the King; it being directed to his Majeſty, with an humble Deſire, that he would be graciously pleaſed to ſend it to the Houſe of Peers, and command it to be enter'd in the Journal of that Houſe.

His Majeſty readily upon the Receipt of it, believing it to be drawn by mature Advice, deliver'd it  
the

the Lord Keeper, who very unluckily happen'd then to be present, commanding him to present it the House as soon as it met, which was to be within two Hours after. The Petition was to this Effect.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament.*

"The humble Petition and Protestation of all the Bishops Petition and Protestation.  
 "Bishops and Prelates now called by his Majesty's Writ to attend the Parliament, and present about London and Westminster for that Service.

"THAT whereas the Petitioners are called up, "by several and respective Writs, to attend "in Parliament, and have a clear and unquestioned "Right to Vote in whatever is debateable therein, "and ought to be protected by your Majesty, quietly to attend that great Service;

"They Humbly remonstrate, that as they have "that undubitable Right, so are they ready to perform their Duties accordingly, if they may be "protected from Force and Violence; and do "abominate all Actions tending to Popery, or the "Support thereof, or any malignant Party whatsoever, to which their own Reason and Consciences "shall not move 'em to adhere.

"But whereas they have been at several times violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted in their coming to attend the Service of that Honourable House, and lately chased away in great Danger of their Lives, and upon sundry Complaints "to both Houses can find no Redress or Protection;

Q 2

They



*The HISTORY of*

“They likewise Humbly Protest before Your Majesty, and the Noble House of Peers, that saving to themselves all Rights of Sitting and Voting at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote till Your Majesty shall secure ’em from all Affronts, Indignities, and Damages in the Premises.

“And do therefore in all Duty and Humility Protest against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves Null, and of no Effect, which have in their Absence already pass’d, or shall hereafter pass during this their forced and violent Absence.

*And Humbly beseeching Your most Excellent Majesty, that this their Petition and Protestation may be recorded.*

They will ever Pray,

*John, Eborac.*

*Geo. Hereford.*

*Tho. Duresme.*

*Rob. Oxon.*

*Rob. Cov. and L.*

*Ma. Ely.*

*Jo. Norwich.*

*Godfr. Glouc.*

*Jo. Asaphen.*

*Jo. Peterburgh.*

*Guil. Ba. and Wells.*

*Mar. Llandaff.*

As soon as this Protestation was read in the House, the Leading Lords expressed a great Satisfaction in it; affirming the Hand of God appeared now in bringing that to pass, which otherwise they never could have effected; and without any Declaration of their own Judgement and Opinion upon it, they sent presently to desire a Conference with the Commons, upon a Business of great Importance, where they only read, and then delivered the Protestation to them. The House of Commons, upon very little Consideration, within half an Hour sent up to the Lords, and without any further Examination accused

cus'd all those Bishops of High-Treason, by which means the whole Twelve of 'em were committed Prisoners to the Tower, where they remained 'till the Bill pass'd. They are accused of High-Treason, and committed Prisoners to the Tower.

The King receiv'd no Prejudice from this high, extravagant way of Proceeding; for tho' it made the Guilty dread their Tribunal, yet it very much lessen'd that Veneration and Respect that had formerly been entertained for Parliaments, and this last Action, relating to the Bishops, gave great Scandal to all sober unprejudiced Persons. For tho' the thing it self might be an Act of Indiscretion, and some Expressions in it unskilful and unwarrantable, and the Method of presenting it irregular, (for all which the Peers had Power to punish their own Members) yet every Body knew there could be no such thing as Treason in it, and therefore the end of their Commitment, and the use all Men perceived they intended to draw from it, render'd it the more odious; and the Absent Members of both Houses, which were three parts in four, and many of those who had been present abhorred those Proceedings, and grew more diligent in their Attendance; so that the angry Party would have been oblig'd of Course to give over their Designs against the Government both in Church and State, had not the Lord Digby's volatile turbulent Spirit prevail'd with the King to give 'em some new Advantages, and depart from his Resolution of doing nothing without very mature Deliberation.

Tho' Sir William Balfour had from the beginning of this Parliament render'd himself very gracious to those who glory'd in their Enmity to the Court, and so forgot all his Obligations to the King, whom he served, very unbecoming his Trust, whilst the Earl of *Strafford* was in his Power, and contributed much to the Jealousie that Party had entertained of

his Majesty, upon which there had been a long Design to remove him, but to do it with his own Consent that there might be no sign of Displeasure; yet it was executed at a very unseasonable Conjunction, and so secretly transacted that there was no Suspicion of it 'till Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was sworn in his Place; who tho' of an ancient Family in *Sussex*, yet he was of an indigent Fortune, and having been compell'd a few Years before to fly the Kingdom upon some Riotous Misdemeanor, he spent some time in the French King's Service, where he was reputed a good Foot-Officer, and a Man of Courage; and when the Troubles broke out at home, had some Command in the King's Army, but was so little known to the World, except upon the Disadvantage of an ill Character, that in the best of Times his Promotion would have been very ungrateful to the People. He being utterly unknown to the King, the Lord *Digby* was presently look'd on as the sole Author of that Election, who indeed designed it for his Brother, Sir *Lewis Dives*, who at that time happening not to be in Town, and the other having some secret Reason to confer the Office that Instant upon a Person he could trust, which Reason he might easily have known would provoke a more vigorous Opposition; which Oversight, as we before observ'd, was repair'd by the sudden Change, and putting Sir *John Byron* in his room, tho' that gave little Satisfaction, and the less upon the Account of a more Disadvantageous Action, which gave a new Face to publick Affairs, and made this be the more reflected upon.

† The Lord  
Kimbolton  
and Five  
Members  
of the House  
of Commons  
are  
accused of  
High-Treason.  
son.

*Herbert*, the King's Attorney, one Afternoon whilst both Houses were sitting, inform'd the Peers, that the King had commanded him to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton* and Five Commoners of High-Treason, and that his Majesty himself had delivered him in Writing



Writing several Articles, upon which they were accused, and read in a Paper these following Articles, by which the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Denzil Hollis, and Mr. Strode, were accused of High-Treason, for Conspiring against the King and the Parliament.

*Articles of High-Treason and other Misdemeanors against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, &c. Members of the House of Commons.* The Articles against 'em.

I. "That they have Traiterously endeavoured to destroy the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and deprive the King of his Regal Power, and to place on his Subjects an Arbitrary and Tirannical Power.

II. "That by many foul Aspersions they have endeavoured to alienate the Affections of his People, and make his Majesty odious to 'em.

III. "That they have endeavour'd to draw the late Army to Disobedience to his Majesty's Command, and join with them in their Traiterous Design.

IV. "That they have Traiterously invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to Invade *England*.

V. "That they have Traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.

VI. "That for the compleating their Traiterous Purposes, they have endeavour'd, as far as in them lay, by Force and Terror to compel the Parliament to join with 'em in their Traiterous Designs, and to that End have actually rais'd and countenanc'd Tumults against the King and Parliament.

VII. "That they have Traiterously conspired to Levy, and actually have Levied War against the King.

*The Serjeant at Arms demanded at the Bar of the House of Commons the Five Members.*

The Lords were somewhat startled at this Alarm, but took time 'till the next Day to consider of it, that they might see in the mean while how their Masters, the Commons, would carry themselves. At the same time a Serjeant at Arms demanded at the Bar of the House of Commons the Persons of Five of their Members to be delivered to him in his Majesty's Name, who had accused 'em of High-Treason. The Commons were not much surprized at this, for they quickly were informed of what had pass'd with the Lords; and some of the King's Servants, by special Warrant, had been sealing up the Studies and Trunks of some of the accused Members; upon Information whereof, they made an Order before the Serjeant came to the House, "That  
 "if any Person whatsoever should come to the  
 "Lodgings of any Member of that House, and there  
 "offer to put a Seal upon the Doors, Trunks, or Papers  
 "of such Members, or to seize upon their Persons, such  
 "Member should require the Aid of the next Constable, to detain such Persons 'till the further Orders of  
 "the House should be known; that if any Person whatsoever should offer to Arrest or Detain any Member  
 "of that House, without first acquainting the House  
 "therewith, it should be lawful for such Member to stand upon his Guard, and for any Person  
 "to assist him, according to the late Protestation. So that the Serjeant, after he had deliver'd his Message, was no more call'd in, but a Message sent to the King, "That the Members should be forth coming  
 "as soon as a Legal Charge could be preferr'd against  
 "'em. And so the House Adjourn'd 'till the next Day; when the King, attended by no more than his ordinary Guard, and some few Gentlemen, came to the House of Commons, and commanding his Attendants to wait without, and offend no Man, himself, with the Prince Elector his Nephew, went into

*The King comes to the House of Commons.*

into the House to the great astonishment of all; and the Speaker rising from the Chair the King went into it, and said, "He was sorry for the Occasion "had brought him thither; that yesterday he had "sent his Serjeant at Arms to seize on some that by "his Command were accused of High-Treason, in "which he expected to be obey'd, but instead thereof had receiv'd a Message. He added, "No King "ever was or should be more tender of their Privileges than himself, but that no Man was Privileged in Cases of Treason, and therefore he came "to see if any of those he had accused were there, whom "he was resolv'd to have where-ever he should find "em; then looking about he said, "He found *the Birds were all flown*, but expected they should "be sent him when ever they return'd thither; and "assured 'em in the Word of a King he design'd "no Force, but to proceed against 'em fairly, and "in a Legal way; and so returned to *Whitehal*, and the House in great Disorder Adjourn'd 'till the next Day in the Afternoon.

When the Lord *Digby*, the only Person that gave the Counsel, found the ill Success of the Impeachment in both Houses, and how much People were disgusted at the Proceedings, he advised the King to go the next Morning to the *Guild-hall*, and acquaint the Mayor and Aldermen of the Grounds of it. And to make the World believe there was no Dejection or Sorrow for whatever was done, the same Night a Proclamation was prepared to prevent the Persons accused from flying out of the Kingdom, and forbid all Persons to receive and entertain 'em, when it was very well known they had all removed themselves that Night into their Strong Hold, the City; not that they were afraid to venture themselves in their own Lodgings, where they knew no Man would have presumed to touch 'em, but



but that the City might see they look'd on that as the Sanctuary of their Privileges, and so teach 'em to feel an early Concernment for 'em; nor were they out in their Design, for in Spight of the Lord Mayor (who behav'd himself like a Wife and Courageous Magistrate) the City was all Night in Arms, some design'd for that Employment running from one Gate to another, and crying out, "That the Cavaliers were coming to set the City a Fire, and some adding, "The King himself was at the "Head of 'em.

*And goes to the Guild-hall.* The next Morning his Majesty, who was not ignorant of that Night's Transactions, sent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common-Council, and about Ten went himself, attended only with three or four Lords, to the *Guild-hall*, and told 'em, "He was "very sorry to hear they entertain'd such Apprehensions of Danger: That they might judge how "much he rely'd upon their Affections for his "Guard, having brought none with him: That he "had accused several Persons of High-Treason, against whom he intended to proceed in a lawful "way, and therefore presum'd they would not harbour 'em in the City; and using many other gracious Expressions of the Esteem he had for 'em, and telling one of the Sheriffs (who was thought of the two the less devoted to his Service) that he intended to Dine with him, he departed without that chearful Applause the extraordinary Grace he had vouchsafed 'em deserv'd. And as he pass'd through the City the rude People crowded together, crying out, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; and one among the rest, bawling out with a loud Voice, near his Coach, *To your Tents, O Israel*: However the King, tho' much mortified, pursued his Resolution, and having Din'd with the Sheriff he returned to *Whitehal*, and the next

next Day a Proclamation came forth, for the Apprehension of the Accused Members, forbidding any Persons to conceal or entertain 'em; and at the same time the Articles of the Charge were Printed and dispers'd.

When the House of Commons next met, they took not so much notice of the accusing the Members, as the King's coming to the House, a thing never known before, and his declaring "He would have 'em where-ever he should find 'em, was an Argument that he intended to have brought a Force into the House to lay hold of 'em had they been there; which was the highest Breach of Privilege imaginable. They who spoke with most Passion, and perhaps intended the greater Malice, seemed to be moved chiefly upon a general Concern; concluding, after great Lamentations, "That they did not think themselves safe in that House, 'till Men's Minds were more compos'd; that the City was full of Fears, and zealous for their Safety; and therefore wish'd the Parliament might Adjourn to some Place there. But that was found impracticable, since it could not be done without the Consent of the Peers, and his Majesty's Concurrence; so at length they concluded, "That the House should Adjourn for two or three Days, and appoint a Committee to sit Morning and Afternoon in the City; and all who came to have Voices; Merchant-Taylors Hall being appointed the Place of Meeting. Upon this they Adjourn'd for some Days, to consult with their Friends in the City; and the Lords corresponded so exactly with 'em, that they adjourn'd 'till the same time, but appointed no Committee to sit in the City.

The Committee, at their first Meeting the next Morning, found a Guard of substantial Citizens in Arms ready to attend 'em, and a Committee of the

*Both Houses  
Adjourn  
for some  
Days, and  
the Commons name  
a Committee  
to sit in  
the City.*

Com-

Common-Council to give them Welcome, and to assure 'em, " Care should be taken to secure all " their Members from Violence; and to acquaint 'em further, " That the Common-Council, in Contemplation of what they might stand in need of, " had likewise nominated another Committee of Aldermen and Common-Council-men, who should " meet at a Place appointed, at those Hours the Committee of the House should meet, to the end they " might better know their Pleasure, and take care to " see it obey'd.

The Committee begun with discanting upon the Manner of the King's Coming to the House, and all he did there; the several Members mentioning what they would undertake to remember, what his Majesty said, or did, upon his going to, or returning from the House; others reporting what some of the great Men, who waited upon his Majesty, should say, and gave every idle Word its Commentary. And whatever Person was named had Orders to attend, and not a Man had Courage to refuse obeying the Summons, or answering whatever Questions the Committee would put to 'em, whereof many were very idle, and favour'd of little Respect to the King.

The Accused Members were all together in one House in *Coleman-Street*, whither Persons trusted by the Committee pass'd to and fro, to communicate and receive Instructions. For it was not judged convenient for 'em yet to appear, or own they thought themselves safe from the Violence of the Court, the Power whereof they exceedingly despised, tho' they seemed to stand in fear of it. Nor had they yet time to determine in what Manner their Friends in the City and Country should appear concerned for 'em, in the Preparation whereof no Time was lost.

Against the Day the House was to meet, they had prepared Matter enough for a Report, and formed



ed such Votes as they thought fit to offer upon the Breach of Privilege, that they might the better discover the general Temper of the House, which they knew before was not much to their Advantage. And so upon the Report of the Committee, the House declared at their first Meeting, "That the King's coming to the House, and demanding the Persons of divers of their Members, was a high Breach of Privilege of Parliament, and that they could not sit there 'till they had obtain'd a full Vindication of it, and such a Guard for their Security, as they might confide in. And therefore did Adjourn themselves again for four Days, appointing the Committee to meet again in the same Place, to consider and provide for all things that related to the Good and Safety of the City and Kingdom. Then some Votes were offered, in which they voted, "That the King's coming to the House was the highest Breach of Privilege possible, and so was the Arresting, or endeavouring to Arrest any Member; who so Arrested might lawfully rescue and redeem himself; and that all who beheld such a Violation of Parliamentary Privileges, might and ought to assist the Person injured, and forcibly procure his Liberty. All this the House confirm'd, and then Adjourn'd again for some Days, appointing the Committee to meet again; which they did twice a Day, and form'd Votes of a brighter Allay, every Day adding to the Fury and Violence of the Precedent. The House met only to confirm the Votes propos'd by the Committee, and prosecute such Matters as were by Agreement brought 'em, by way of Petition from the City. And so whilst the Members still lay conceal'd, many things of great Moment were transacted during those short Sitzings of the House.

The

*The King  
answers the  
Remon-  
strance.*

The King having now gotten two Counsellors about him, in the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepeper*, as is said before, who could trust one another, and were both fit to be trusted by him, resolv'd about this time to publish a Declaration to all his Subjects, in Answer to the Remonstrance lately dispersed by the House of Commons over all the Kingdom; in which he took notice "of the Fears and "Jealousies which so much affected the Minds of "his People, with reference to their Religion, their "Liberty, or their Civil Interests.

"The Fears relating to the first he observed to "be of two sorts; either as the Religion by Law "establish'd might be impeach'd by the Popish Party, or as it contain'd some Ceremonies which gave "Offence, real or pretended, to tender Consciences. "For the first, he was willing to declare to all the "World, that as from his Childhood he had been "educated in the establish'd Religion of the Church "of *England*, so he hoped he should be ready to "seal it with his Blood, if it should please God to "call him to that Sacrifice. As for Matters of Ceremony, he said, he was ready to comply with the "Advice of his Parliament, that some Laws should "be made in behalf of tender Consciences, to exempt 'em from Punishment or Prosecution for neglecting such Ceremonies, provided it were done "with that Modesty, Temper, and Submission, "that the Peace and Quietness of the Kingdom should "not be interrupted, nor the Decency and Comeliness of God's Service be discountenanc'd. Concerning the Civil Liberties, he said, those excellent Laws pass'd by him this Parliament, were "lasting Monuments of his Princely and Fatherly "Care of his People. He told 'em he understood "very well the Rights and Advantages he had quit- "ted, in his passing those Acts; and therefore had

"rea-

“ reason to hope, as he omitted no Opportunity of  
“ making their Condition comfortable and happy,  
“ they would make him suitable Returns of Grati-  
“ tude and Duty; since no Particular should be pre-  
“ sented to him, for the Establishment of their Hap-  
“ piness and Security, to which he was not resolv’d  
“ to contribute his utmost Assistance with the same  
“ Alacrity. He said, if those Resolutions were sin-  
“ cere, and he took God to Witness they were, cer-  
“ tainly no sinister Design upon the Publick could  
“ accompany ’em. And therefore that it was not  
“ one of the least of his Misfortunes, that having not re-  
“ tain’d in his Service, or protected any Person dis-  
“ agreeable to the Parliament, or advanc’d into any  
“ degree of Favour or Grace those who were not e-  
“ minently esteem’d among the People, there should  
“ so soon arise a Misunderstanding of their Fidelity  
“ and Integrity. However if he had been deceiv’d  
“ in such his Choice, the Particular should no sooner  
“ be made known to him, than he would leave those  
“ who deserv’d it to publick Justice. If notwith-  
“ standing all this any malignant Party should per-  
“ sist, and chuse rather to sacrifice the Peace and  
“ Welfare of their Country, than fail of their own  
“ sinister Ends and Ambitions, he made no doubt  
“ but God in his own time would discover them,  
“ and the Wisdom and Courage of his Parliament  
“ would concur with him to suppress and punish  
“ ’em.

“ Having said and done all he could to manifest  
“ the Clearness and Integrity of his Intentions, he  
“ could not but believe all his good Subjects would  
“ confess his Part was fully perform’d, and that their  
“ Happiness depended now wholly upon themselves:  
“ He hoped the Loyalty and good Affections of all  
“ his Subjects would join with him in the constant  
“ Maintenance of a good Understanding between  
“ him



" him and his People, and that their own Interest  
 " and a compassionate Sense of the miserable State  
 " of the poor Protestants in *Ireland*, would induce  
 " 'em to a friendly Intelligence and Unity among  
 " themselves; that so they might unanimously un-  
 " dertake the Relief and Recovery of that un-  
 " happy Kingdom, where those barbarous Rebels  
 " committed such inhuman Outrages, as no Chri-  
 " stian Ear could hear without Horror, nor any Sto-  
 " ry parallel. He concluded in conjuring all his Peo-  
 " ple, by all the Obligations of Love, Duty, and  
 " Obedience, to help him to recover the Peace of  
 " that Kingdom, and preserve the Peace of this; to  
 " remove all their Doubts and Fears, which might  
 " either cool their Affections to him, or interrupt  
 " their Charity to each other. And then he said,  
 " if an inevitable Judgment did not hang over this  
 " Nation for the Sins thereof, he did not doubt  
 " but God would render him a great and glorious  
 " Prince, and them a free and happy People.

Tho' the People were afterwards much influence'd  
 by this Declaration to his Majesty's Advantage, at  
 present it gave no Abatement to their Distempers.  
 Their factious Ministers were detach'd to alarm the  
 neighbouring Countries, and all Arts were set on  
 foot to incite the City; insomuch that maugre all  
 the Opposition the Lord Mayor and the graver  
 and most substantial Aldermen could make, the Ma-  
 jority of the Common-Council prevail'd to send a  
 Petition to the King, in the Name of the Mayor, Al-  
 dermen, and Common-Council of the City of Lon-  
 don, which was presented to his Majesty the next

*The City  
 petitions  
 the King.*

*Sunday* Morning with great Solemnity, representing  
 " under what Fears and Distractions the City then la-  
 " bour'd, by reason of the great Success of the bloody  
 " Rebels in *Ireland*, and dismissing a Person of Honour  
 " and Trust from being Lieutenant of the Tower.

\*

" The

The fortifying *Whitehal* in an unaccustomed Manner, some Men there abusing and wounding several Citizens going by, the placing divers Cannons and others in the Tower, the Discovery of several Fire-works in the Hands of *Papists*, and the Mis-understanding between his Majesty and his Parliament: That his Majesty's late going to the House of Commons, follow'd by a Number of Men in Arms, had exceedingly encreased their Fears; the Effects of which not only tended to the Decay of Trade, which they already in a great measure felt, but to the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all his Subjects; and therefore they prayed his Majesty to advise with his Parliament, for the speedy Relief of the Protestants in *Ireland*; that the Tower might be put into the Hands of an Honest Man; all suspicious Persons be removed from about *Whitehal* and *Westminster*, an approved Guard be appointed for his Majesty's Safety, and that of his Parliament; the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons, may be allow'd their Liberty, and not be proceeded against otherwise than according to the Privileges of Parliament.

The King very well knew the Inconvenience of countenancing such a Petition so far as to receive it, if it could have been avoided; but the Torrent was too strong to be resisted, and therefore he attempted to divide and reduce 'em, by a most gracious Condescension to their affected Fears and Apprehensions, and the same Day return'd 'em this Answer, "That for the melancholy Business of *Ireland*,  
The King's Answer.  
 " he had omitted nothing on his part; he wonder'd  
 " the Petitioners should still entertain their Fears about the Tower, since he had removed a trusty  
 " Servant from thence, only in Compliance with  
 R " their

“ their Fears, and put in another of undisputable  
 “ Reputation and known Ability, and whatever Pre-  
 “ paration of Strength was there made, it was with  
 “ as great a Regard to the Safety and Advantage of  
 “ the City, as of himself and Children. As to the  
 “ unusual fortifying *Whitehal* with Men and Amu-  
 “ nition, he made no doubt but they knew upon  
 “ what good Grounds he was induced to entertain  
 “ that Guard; that a disorderly riotous Assembly of  
 “ People had not only disquieted his great Council,  
 “ but brought his own Royal Person in Danger; and  
 “ if any had been roughly treated or wounded, he  
 “ was sure it proceeded from their own arrogant  
 “ tumultuous Demeanors. He knew nothing of the  
 “ Fire-works in Popish Hands, nor understood whom  
 “ nor what they meant. He was persuaded, if they  
 “ knew the true Grounds upon which those Mem-  
 “ bers had been accused of High-Treason, they  
 “ would believe his going to the House of Com-  
 “ mons, with Attendants no otherwise armed than  
 “ as Gentlemen with Swords, was an Act of great  
 “ Grace and Favour to that House, and the most  
 “ peaceable way of performing that necessary Piece  
 “ of Service, since such Orders had been made for  
 “ the opposing what Authority soever for their Ap-  
 “ prehension; his Proceedings against ’em he intend-  
 “ ed should be just and favourable, according to  
 “ the known Laws of the Land, to which all innocent  
 “ Men would readily submit. And this extraordi-  
 “ nary way of satisfying so unusual a Petition, he  
 “ said, he hoped his People would interpret as the  
 “ greatest Instance of his favourable Intentions to-  
 “ wards ’em, and his singular Esteem of that City,  
 “ of which he hoped they would entertain so grate-  
 “ ful a Sense, as never to decline his just Commands  
 “ and Service.



It is no Wonder, if they, who at such a Time could be so far corrupted, as to frame and present that Petition, shou'd continue untouch'd by such an Answer. Neither will it be improper in this Place to enquire, how a City so rich and flourishing, and which could secure her Wealth and Prosperity no otherwise, than by the Arts of Peace, could be so far misapprehended, as to be made the chief Instrument of it's own, and the Nation's Ruin.

The City of *London*, as the Metropolis of *England*, and Chief Seat of Trade, was by the continued Favour and Indulgence of Princes strengthened with great Immunities, and made a Corporation within it self. Since this King's Access to the Crown it improved wonderfully in Riches, Buildings, and Inhabitants. The Helps and Advantages it had to become Rich, made it look'd on too much as a Common Stock not to be exhausted presently, nor sensible of ordinary Acts of Injustice. Thus after many Disputes of their Charter, which were ever compounded by considerable Sums of Money, a Grant, made upon very valuable Considerations, in the Beginning of this King's Reign, of a large Extent of Lands in *Ireland*, and of the City of *London-Derry* there, was declared void by a Sentence in the Star-Chamber, and the City charged with a Fine of Fifty Thousand Pounds; which made an Impression in the Minds of the Citizens, much to the Prejudice of the Court, so that at the calling this Parliament, the City stood as ill affected to the Court as the Country was, and returned such to sit as Members there, as had notoriously opposed the Court, or had been casually oppress'd by it. After the Beginning of this Parliament, when the Leading Men at *Westminster* found by Experience, of what Consequence the Interest of the City might be to them, and that it might possibly be preserved from being disposed by 'em, they directed their Confidants, that

they should study, by a Majority of the meaner Sort, at the Election of Common-Council-Men, to reject all moderate Men, that were Friends to the Government, in whose Places the most Busy Pragmatical Fellows, no Matter of how desperate Fortunes, should be chosen. And by this Means that Body consisted for the most Part at this time of Faction, Upstart, Necessitous Persons, who were ready to be led by their Masters at *Westminster*, and as ready to encroach upon their Superiors, the Mayor and Aldermen in the City, which by that means grew inflam'd by the Firebrand of Privileges.

That the Commons might oblige the City with a better Answer, than they had received from the King to their Petition, and lay his Majesty more open to their Affronts, they took the old Business of the Tower in Hand again, reflecting afresh upon the Removal of an honest Lieutenant, and putting an hot-brain'd Person in his Room, to use those Prisoners, that were designed to be sent thither, as he should be directed; that the City observed he took great Store of Provisions into the Tower, as if he intended a greater Garrison, which deservedly rais'd their Fears and Jealousies; that several Merchants, who used to Trade to the Mint, had delivered a Petition to the Houses, setting forth, that unless such a Person was made Lieutenant, in whom they could confide, no Man would venture to carry Bullion into the Mint, and by Consequence no Merchant import it into the Kingdom. Whereas no Gentleman in the Nation had a better Reputation, and there had been more Bullion brought into the Mint whilst he was Lieutenant, than there had been for many Months before, and there were very few among those that deliver'd that Petition, who had ever sent any Bullion in thither. However the House allowed the Complaint to be very reasonable; and

and at a Conference, desired for that Purpose, they prevailed with the Lords to joyn with 'em in a Desire to the King, "That he would remove Sir *John Byron* from that Command, which his Majesty refused for some time, 'till they press'd him in another Manner, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

The Committee still continued sitting in *London*, and minded no other Business but their own Privileges. All such Examinations as discover'd any extravagant Discourse of any loose Fellow, who by Chance thrust himself into the Company, tho' it appeared he was retained in no Service to his Majesty, were diligently enter'd and publish'd; but such as declared the King's positive Command against any Force or Disorder, and his strict Charge, that no one should dare follow him into the House, (tho' that was fully proved) was as cunningly suppress'd and conceal'd.

The Sheriffs had Orders to appoint a Guard for the Committee, whilst it continued there, and attend the Houses when they should again sit at *Westminster*. The accused Members were with great State conducted to the Committee, where they sat to find out some Way for their own Vindication.

Then the Commons agreed upon a Declaration, in which they set forth, "That the Chambers, Closets, and Trunks of Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Strode*, under a Pretence of his Majesty's Warrant, had been seal'd up, which destroy'd the Common Liberty of every Subject, as well as the Privilege of Parliament; that the same Day a Serjeant at Arms had demanded the same Members to arrest 'em; that the Day following his Majesty came to the House, attended by a Multitude of armed Men in a hostile Manner, to the great Terror and Disturbance of the Members then sitting. That his Majesty,



"seating himself in the Speaker's Chair, demanded  
 "those Persons should be surrender'd up to him,  
 "which was a high Breach of the Rights and Pri-  
 "vileges of Parliament, and did issue out several  
 "Warrants under his own Hand for the Apprehend-  
 "ing 'em, which he could not lawfully do. And  
 thereupon they declared, "If any Person should ar-  
 "rest Mr. *Hollis*, &c. or any other Member of Par-  
 "liament, without the Consent of that House, where-  
 "of he is a Member, he should be reputed a publick  
 "Enemy of the Common-wealth. Then they pub-  
 lish'd, "That upon several Examinations it plainly  
 "appear'd, several Soldiers, Papists and others, about  
 "five hundred in Number, came with his Majesty  
 "to the House, and that some of 'em with their Pi-  
 "stols cock'd near the Door of the House, said,  
*I am a good Marksman, I can hit right*; others  
 said, *A Pox take the House of Commons, let 'em be*  
 "*hang'd*; and as the King returned, they seem'd  
 "highly discontented, asking, When comes the  
 "*Word*? That some of 'em, being ask'd, What they  
 "thought the Company design'd to have done? They  
 "replied, That questionless, if the *Word* had been  
 "given, they should have cut all the Throats of the  
 "House of Commons. Upon which they said, they  
 "were of Opinion that their Design was to take a-  
 "way some of the Members, and if they had met  
 "with any Opposition, to fall upon the House in  
 "an hostile Manner,

Thereupon they declared, "It was a traiterous  
 "Design\* against the King and Parliament; and  
 "whereas the Members accus'd had Leave to absent  
 "themselves, to avoid the many Inconveniences  
 "which might otherwise have happen'd, since which  
 "time a Paper, Printed in the Nature of a Procla-  
 "mation, had been issued out for their Apprehensi-  
 "on and Imprisonment, suggesting, that their Guilt  
 "had

“had made ’em fly: They did further declare,  
“That the said Paper was false, scandalous, and un-  
“lawful; notwithstanding which Paper, or any War-  
“rant, or other Matter against ’em, they might, and  
“ought to attend the Service of the House, and the  
“Committees then on Foot; and that any Person  
“whatsoever might lawfully entertain, harbour, and  
“converse with them, and whosoever should be call’d  
“in Question for the same, should be under the  
“Protection and Privilege of Parliament.

They further declared, “That the publishing the  
“Articles of High-Treason against the accused Mem-  
“bers, was a high Breach of Privilege, scandalous  
“to his Majesty and his Government, manifestly tend-  
“ing to the Subversion of the publick Peace, and a  
“great Injury and Dishonour to the Members, and  
“that their Liberties and Privileges, so infringing’d and  
“broken, cou’d not receive a sufficient Vindication,  
“till the King would be graciously pleas’d to de-  
“clare the Names of those who advis’d him to the  
“particular Acts before mention’d, that they might  
“meet with condign Punishment.

This odd Declaration, so much against the known  
Rules and Judgments of Law, and Practice of Parli-  
ament, was no sooner fram’d by the Committee,  
than it was publish’d in Print throughout the King-  
dom, which was contrary to the Custom of Parlia-  
ment. For by that Custom no Act of any Com-  
mittee is to be divulg’d, before a Report of the same  
be made to the House.

The Truth is, these late Proceedings of the King  
had created a wonderful Change in the Minds of all  
Sorts of People; they who before had lost their Re-  
putation, except with the meaner Sort, who could  
be of small Use to ’em when the greater should  
forsake ’em, and were so dispirited, that they de-  
spair’d of ever compassing their Designs, (and had

some of 'em taken up their old Thoughts of leaving the Kingdom) grew now more Couragious than ever, and quickly found their Credit was as great, and the Court reduced to a lower Condition, more Disesteem and Neglect than it ever had suffer'd before; all their former Noise of Plots and Conspiracies against the Parliament, which before had been laugh'd at, was now thought to be built upon good Grounds; and what hitherto had been only whisper'd of *Ireland*, was now talk'd aloud, and publish'd in Print. The Shops in the City, for the generality, were shut up, and the People at a Gaze, as if they waited only for Directions, and were prepared for any Undertaking.

On the other Hand, they who with the greatest Courage had thwarted their Seditious Practices, were now confounded with the Thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Tho' they were far from imagining the accused Members had been much wronged, yet they thought they had been called to an Account for it at a very unseasonable time; and the exposing the Dignity, Majesty and Safety of the King, in his coming in Person in that manner to the House of Commons, and going the next Day to the *Guild-hall*, where he met with such Reproaches to his Face, added to their Anger and Indignation. All which was justly charged upon the Lord *Digby*, who was before less belov'd than he deserv'd, and was now the most universally hated of any Man in the Nation.

The Committee at Merchant-Tailor's Hall ask'd the House of Commons, upon their passing such Votes from thence as they thought necessary, if the accused Members (who indeed had influenc'd all their Deliberations from the time they sat there) might sit with them, which the Commons not only approv'd, but required those Members to give their Attendance



dance in the House the next Day it was to sit, which was then Adjourn'd for three or four Days, that the City might have time to appear in such a manner as was thought requisite.

The Noise of the great Preparations making to *The King* Conduct the accused Members in Triumph from *leaves* the City to the House, made his Majesty judge *Whitehal,* it convenient to remove again from *Whitehal*; so on *and re-* the 10th of *Jan.* the Eve to that great Solemnity, *moves to* he went with the Queen and Royal Children to *Hampton-* *Court.* *Hampton-* *Court.* *Court.* and before his going sent to the Earl of *Essex* and *Holland* to attend him in his Journey, which by their Offices they were both obliged to. The Earl of *Essex* resolv'd to go, and was getting ready accordingly, when the Earl of *Holland* came privately, and assured him, that if they went they should be both murder'd at *Hampton-Court*; upon which they left the King to his slender Retinue, in a more forlorn disconsolate Condition than they had ever known him, and therefore in more need of Comfort and Counsel; and instead of waiting on their Master in that extremity, they went to the Committee then sitting in the City, who knowing they had been invited to wait upon their Majesties, gave 'em not the less Welcome. Nor were the King's best Friends sorry he had withdrawn himself from *Whitehal*, where the Insolence and Animosity which had been generally infused into the People's Hearts against the Court, and even his Majesty's own Person, made his Residence very insecure.

Whilst the Committee sat in *London*, the Common-Council likewise met to provide for whatever should be desired of 'em from the City; so the Committee having resolved, "Whatever the Citizens of *London*, or any other Person had done in "Behalf of the Parliament, was agreeable to their  
"Duty

The accused Members conducted in great State to the House.

"Duty, the late Protestation, and the Laws of the Land; and if any Person should molest 'em for so doing, he was declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth; then resolving, "The Common-Council should be made acquainted with that Vote: The Eleventh of *January*, about two in the Afternoon, the accused Members came from their Lodgings in the City to *Westminster*, under the Guard of the Sheriffs and Train'd-Bands of *London* and *Westminster*, attended by many thousands of People more, bawling out against Bishops and Popish Lords, and for the Privileges of Parliament; some as they went by *Whitehal* asking in much Contempt, "What was become of the King "and his Cavaliers.

Skippon made Major-General of the City Militia.

The *Thames* was guarded from the *Bridge* to *Westminster* with more than a hundred Lighters and Long-Boats, armed with small Peices of Ordinance, and equipp'd as ready for an Engagement. *Skippon*, who was Captain of the Artillery-Garden, was made Major-General of the City Militia, an Office never known before, nor was it thought they had Authority to create such a one now. The Man had serv'd long in *Holland*, and from a Common Soldier rais'd himself up to be a Captain, and was accounted a good Officer; he had been bred long enough Abroad to bring home with him a Disaffection to the Church and State, tho' otherwise a Man of Order and Sobriety, free from the Vices which the Officers of the Army are usually exercised in.

He that Day Commanded their Tumultuary Guard that attended the accused Members to the House, where when they were enter'd they extoll'd "the Kindness they had met with in the City, and "their Zeal to the Parliament; and if they had "launch'd out in their Expressions upon so extraordinary an Occasion, it became the Honour of the "Par-

“Parliament to Protect and Defend ’em. Upon which the Sheriffs were call’d in, and told by the Speaker, after he had given ’em the Thanks of the House, “They should have an Ordinance of Parliament for their Indemnity, declaring that they “had done nothing upon this Occasion, but what “was Legal and Justifiable. Then the Masters and Officers of Ships were call’d in, and received most hearty Thanks for their Kindness; and Skippon was appointed to attend with such Guard as he thought convenient every Day at Westminster.

These being discharged, some *Buckinghamshire* <sup>The Buck-inghamshire Men present a Petition to the Parliam-</sup> Men delivered to the House a Petition, in the Name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Buckingham*, which they said was brought to Town by near 6000 Men. “They commended the indefatigable Pains “of the House for Redress of the Severities they “had labour’d under, but complained their Endeavours had been defeated, or retarded, by a malignant Party of Bishops, Popish Lords, and others; “and to take away all hope of a future Reformation, the very Being of a Parliament, and the Privileges thereof, had lately been assaulted in a very violent and unexampled manner, and the Members of the House were in Danger of their Lives, “in whose Safety theirs and that of their Posterity “consisted: They thought it therefore their Duty, “according to their late Protestation, to maintain to “the utmost the Persons and Privileges thereof, and “were therefore come humbly to tender their Service, and wait in Expectation of their Order and “Commands, being firmly resolved to live by ’em, “or die at their Feet, against whatsoever Illegal Attempts should be made upon ’em. They desired “’em therefore to assist the earnest Prayers of the “Petitioners, that the Popish Lords and Bishops “might be expell’d the House of Peers, that all Evil  
“Coun-



“Counsellors, the *Achans* of the Common-wealth,  
 “might be resign’d up into the Hands of Justice,  
 “without which they despaired of *Israel’s* Peace, or  
 “of reaping those glorious Advantages, the fourteen  
 “Months Seed-time of their unexampled Endeavours  
 “had given their unsatisfied Expectations.

The House returned their Thanks, and told ‘em,  
 “The Parliament was sufficiently secured by the  
 “great Care of the City, and therefore they might  
 “return home ‘till farther Occasion required ‘em, of  
 “which they should have timely notice. One of  
 “them said, “They had another which they intended  
 “to prefer to the King, but desired to be advis’d,  
 “whether that House would vouchsafe to recommend  
 “it, or whether they should deliver it themselves.  
 “For this they received fresh Thanks, and were  
 “advis’d, “That six or eight of ‘em should  
 “present it to his Majesty in the Name of the rest;  
 “for the House was so sensible of their Wisdom and  
 “Discretion, that they conceived they of themselves  
 “were able to manage such a Business.

Having thus caref’d the Commons, they presented  
 “another Petition to the Lords, “Complaining  
 “of the malignant Party which defeated the good  
 “Endeavours of the House of Commons, and added,  
 “That in regard of the late Attempts they  
 “were come to live and die in their Defence, and  
 “therefore they did most humbly pray the Lords  
 “to co-operate with the Commons in the great  
 “Work of Reformation, and bring to exemplary  
 “Punishment all wicked Counsellors, Plotters and  
 “Delinquents, and that the whole Kingdom might  
 “be put into a Posture of Defence.

The Lords received ‘em as civilly as the Commons  
 “had done, and gave ‘em great Thanks. From  
 “thence they went with their Petition to the King,  
 “in which they complained, “That having returned

*And to the  
 King.*

“*Mr. Hamb-*

“Mr. *Hambden* to serve as Knight of their Shire,  
“they were highly amazed when they heard he a-  
“mong others was accused of High-Treason. They  
“said, they could not but conceive, upon mature De-  
“liberation, that the manner of their Impeachment  
“was very Derogatory to the Freedom of Par-  
“liament, for the maintenance whereof they were  
“bound by their Protestation, and did therefore  
“humbly desire his Majesty, that Mr. *Hambden* and  
“the rest, who lay under the Burden of that Accu-  
“sation, might enjoy the lawful Privileges of Par-  
“liament. So we may reasonably conclude the Date  
of the War in *England* commenc’d from this Day,  
for whatever was afterwards done was built upon  
those Foundations.

The Members being thus placed upon their  
Thrones, and the King with his poor Family retir’d  
to *Hampton-Court*, they provided and declared, “No  
“Member of Parliament should be Arrested upon  
“any Pretence whatsoever; adding that “even in the  
“Case of Treason no Member ought or could be pro-  
“ceeded against, without first informing the House of  
“the Charge and Evidence against him, and receiving  
“their Leave and Direction in it. And that Men  
might be more cautious for the future how they  
were concern’d in bringing any Reproach upon them,  
they appointed a Committee to frame a Charge a-  
gainst the Attorney-General *Herbert*, which was  
prepared accordingly, and prosecuted with great Vi-  
gour, as will be declared hereafter.

They designed the King should enjoy but little  
Ease in his Retreat, and therefore pester’d him e-  
very Day with some Committee or other, with  
their Petitions and Expostulations. Then a Com-  
mittee of Lords and Commons presented him a  
grievous Complaint of the Breach of Privilege they  
had sustain’d in his coming to the House, and de-  
fired

The Com-  
mons ac-  
cuse the  
Lord Dig-  
by of High-  
Treason.

fired he would discover to 'em the Authors of that pernicious Counsel, that they might receive exemplary Punishment. And when they heard the Lord Digby, who was generally thought the Author of that whole Contrivance, had transported himself beyond the Seas, they brought Witnesses to affirm at the Bar, "That several Officers had a Meeting on such a Day at Kingston upon Thames, to whom the Lord Digby came in a Coach and Six from Hampton-Court, and after a long Conference with 'em return'd back. They found this Evidence very satisfactory, and thereupon accused him of High-Treason to the House of Peers, for levying War against the King and Parliament, and a Proclamation was issued out for his Apprehension, tho' it was well known he was arrived safe in Zealand. Upon fresh Information that much Provision was sent every Day into the Tower, they sent for Sir John Byron, who at the Bar of their House gave such full Answer to all their Questions, that they could not but discharge him; however they urg'd the King again to remove him, and recommended Sir John Coniers, as a Man in whom they could confide; and because they had not presently an Answer to their Minds from his Majesty, they order'd their Major-General Skippon to set such a Guard about the Tower, as might hinder more Provisions from being carried in, than would serve from Day to Day. All which notwithstanding, the King would not condescend to their Desire.

Both Houses being now in perfect Union, for the Lords had not yet recovered Courage enough to oppose any one Proposition sent up from the Commons, they both agreed in one Day, and executed three Acts of Sovereignty; the first, "In commanding the Sheriffs to place a Guard upon, or rather Besiege the Tower of London, and prevent the

"go-



going in of any Provisions, or any Arms or Ammunition to be carry'd out. The second, "In sending Sir *John Hotham* down to *Hull*; of which more anon. The third, "In ordering the Governor of *Portsmouth* to admit no Body into that Town and Fort, or any thing to be disposed of there, without an Order from the King signified by both Houses of Parliament,

After this they resolv'd upon a Message to be sent to the Governor of the Prince, "That he should not suffer the Prince to be transported out of the Kingdom, as he would answer his Breach of Trust; and declared further, "That whoever advised or attended upon him to that end, should lye under the same Censure. And then to vindicate themselves from the late Trespas, they caused the Attorney-General publickly to be examined upon Interrogatories, "Whether he contriv'd, fram'd or advised the Articles of Impeachment? Whether he knew the Truth of 'em upon his own Knowledge, or by Information? Whether he could make 'em good when he was call'd upon to do it? From whom he had received 'em, and by whose Direction and Advice exhibited them? Whether he had any Proof of them before the exhibiting? To which he having answer'd, "That they were neither fram'd nor advised by him, or that he knew any thing of the Truth of 'em, or could undertake to justifie 'em, but that he had 'em from the King, who commanded him to exhibit 'em; they presently declared, "He had broken the Privilege of Parliament; that the Exhibition was Illegal, and he Criminal; that a Charge in the Name of the House of Commons should be sent up against him to the Lords, to have Satisfaction for the great Injury and Affront put upon their Members by the Attorney-General, unless in five Daystime he

*They call the Attorney-General to an Account.*

"brought

“ brought his Proof, and made good the Articles a-  
 “ gainst ’em. So they who conclude it very reaso-  
 nable for the House of Peers to imprison their Mem-  
 bers, as fast as the Commons accused them  
 of High-Treason, and had by that Rule in less  
 than a Week before got twelve Bishops at once  
 committed to the Tower, thought it now indispu-  
 table Reason to arraign the Justice of the King’s Pro-  
 ceedings; “ Because if a Man should be committed  
 “ as soon as he was accused of High-Treason by the  
 “ King, his Majesty might carry it so far, in accu-  
 “ sing the whole Body by degrees, as to dissolve  
 “ the Parliament. Which Logick would have found-  
 ed as well upon their own Case, in their freedom of  
 accusing; since the House of Peers was possibly in  
 danger of being thereby dissolv’d.

Tho’ the King had removed himself out of the  
 Noise of *Westminster*, yet the Effects of it follow’d  
 him close upon the Heels; for besides the *Bucking-*  
*hamshire* Petition, which met him the first, or the  
 Day after his Arrival at *Hampton-Court*, several of  
 the same nature were sent him every Day from o-  
 ther Counties of the Kingdom. All which, toge-  
 ther with the Declaration of the Lord *Digby*’s levy-  
 ing War at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, and the Procla-  
 mation for his Apprehension being industriously spread  
 abroad, without any colour of Danger, but only to  
 document the People in the Stile of the two Houses,  
 and exercise ’em in their Commands, against the time  
 they intended to be in earnest, made the King re-  
 move to *Windsor-Castle*, where he was less exposed to  
 any sudden popular Attempt; of which he had good  
 Grounds to be very apprehensive, when they had  
 not only declared those Seditious Actions at *London*  
 and *Westminster* to be according to the Laws of the  
 Land, and the Protestation lately taken, but also en-  
 join’d that Protestation to be administer’d through-  
 out

The King  
 removes to  
 Windsor-  
 Castle.

out the Kingdom, and the Names of those who refused it to be return'd to the House of Commons, who were as strict Inquisitors as could any where be met withal.

From *Windſor* his Majesty ſent a Meſſage to both Houses, and told 'em, "He perceived many look'd on his Proceedings againſt the Accuſed Members, as illegal, and contrary to the Privilege of Parliament; and that he might in every Reſpect ſatisfie all Men, he was willing to wave them at preſent, and when Men's Minds were thereby better compoſed, he would then proceed againſt 'em in an unqueſtionable way; and he bid both Houſes be aſſured, he would be as tender of their Privileges as of his own Life or Crown, the Violation of which as it was never his Intent, ſo if any Doubt relating thereunto remain'd behind, he was willing to aſſert it any reaſonable way his Parliament ſhould propoſe to him; and therefore, all Jealouſies being laid aſide, he conjur'd 'em ſeriously to apply themſelves to the publick Affairs, eſpecially thoſe of *Ireland*; and deſired 'em that their Care of his lawful Prerogative might encrease equal to his for their Privileges, that ſo a Foundation might be laid of a perpetual Intelligence between his Majesty and his Parliament, and the Welfare and Proſperity of the Nation.

This was not what they look'd for; for tho' he ſeem'd to confeſs the Error in Form, yet the Subſtance of the Accuſation might ſtill be inſiſted on, and ſo room left for a Proſecution. And therefore, without taking any notice of it, they went on in their old way of inflaming Mens Minds; and that they might preſerve the Apprehenſion of Danger, (the general Mettal beginning ſomewhat to abate) and keep up the Eſteem their Darling, the City, had for 'em, they conſult about adjourning both Houſes into *London*; but finding that to be ſome-  
S
thing



Commit-  
tees appoin-  
ted to meet  
in London.

thing dangerous, they thought it sufficient to Adjourn their Houses, and appointed Committees, armed with more Power than the Houses had, to meet in *London*, which for the Convenience of the Common-Council, sitting in the *Guild-Hall*, chose Grocer's Hall to meet in. The Advantage they reaped by this Removal from their more convenient Seats at *Westminster* was more than ordinary, for besides the Fears they spread abroad, and the Obligations they laid upon their City-Friends by being among 'em, they were sure for the most part of having such a Committee as their Hearts desired; for as some out of Laziness or Indignation would forbear their Attendance in so inconvenient a Place, so a great many, who very much embarrass'd their Counsels, were deterr'd from going thither through the Fear of indecent Affronts, if not of Danger, their Names being publish'd to the tumultuous Rabble, as disaffected Persons, which they call'd the Malignant Party against whom they prayed.

St. John's  
Militia Bill  
resumed.

The Nation being now for the most part truly prepared to receive all their Dictates, and obey their Orders, and there being few in the House who were courageous enough to contradict 'em, they sent to quicken the Lords in the Bill concerning the Bishops, and call'd to have *St. John's* Bill for settling the Militia, that had been so long depending, to be read in their own House, to which they now added, "The putting all the Forts, Castles, and Garrisons, into the Hands of those they could *Confide* in; a Term they made use of when they had a mind to remove any one from a Place he was Legally possess'd of; they could not *Confide* in him, which they thought Reason sufficient to turn out any Man. When this Bill was first read few imagined it would have gone any further; but now there were few who did not look on it as of great moment

to

to the Safety of the Kingdom, so great an Alteration had the late Proceedings made, and so it pass'd the House with little Opposition, and was sent up to the Lords for their Approbation.

When the late Army was disbanded in the *North*, the King gave Command, that the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition belonging to it, should be remov'd to *Hull*, where it still was kept; and his Majesty intended it should remain there as a Magazine upon all Exigencies: And had sent the Earl of *Newcastle* thither, some time before these late Occurrences, with a private Commission to be Governor thereof, as soon as the Publication of such a Command should be proper; and to engage by his own Interest in the mean time such of the Country as were necessary to guard the Magazine. But whatever the King did, tho' it were never so privately transacted, was quickly discover'd to those, from whom it should most have been conceal'd. And so the Earl of *Newcastle* had not been three Days in *Hull*, before the House of Peers summon'd him to attend the Service of the House, which he seldom did, being generally at *Richmond*, attending upon the Prince of *Wales*, to whom he was Governor. Before he wou'd submit to the Summons, he sent to know his Majesty's Pleasure, who thinking it too soon as yet to make any such Declaration, appointed him to return; and he appeared in the House without ever being questioned where he had been.

But both Houses move the King shortly after, "to remove the Magazine from *Hull* to the Tower  
"of *London*; since that Country apprehended some  
"Design in keeping so much Ammunition in the  
"Northern Parts: And not receiving a speedy Answer from his Majesty, they sent down Sir *John Hotham*,  
"to be Governor of *Hull*, and to draw in  
"such of the Country as he thought fit for the Se-

Sir John  
Hotham  
sent down  
by the  
House of  
Commons  
to com-

"curity of the Place. And this was the first Trial they made of their Sovereignty over the Militia, and the Forts, whilst their Bill was yet in Agitation, and was a clear Indication of what they intended to do, when it shou'd be pass'd; which they hasten'd with all the Speed they cou'd, exercising his Majesty's Patience every Day, with some disagreeable Message, concerning their Privileges, and requiring Vindication, and Reparation, and the Names of those Persons, who had encouraged that Prosecution.

In this melancholy Condition was the King at *Windsor*, sunk in ten Days from a Height and Greatness, which made his Enemies fear him, to such a Lowness, that his own Servants durst hardly come near him. For, tho' the Proceedings of the House of Commons, and the Tumults, were as high Affronts to his Majesty, before this last Attempt upon the Members, as any could come after, yet the House of Peers was then in a tractable Temper, and with a little Patience might have been wrought upon to blast all the Extravagances of the Commons. And the Truth is, the greatest of those Extravagances appear'd to indifferent Persons, to be the struggling Efforts of Men in Despair; so that, if the King cou'd have suffer'd himself to sit still, as a Spectator of the Disputes between the two Houses, and encouraged the Lords who were firm to him, and put those Matters in Issue, wherein the Commons had intrench'd upon his and the Lords Priviledges; if he had commanded the Council and the Judges to proceed with the Rigour of the Law at large against the Preachers and Printers of Sedition, and forced the House of Commons, either to sit still, whilst their Champions received exemplary Punishment, (which would quickly have stopp'd their Licence) or appear the Protectors of an Infamous Act against  
the



the Law and Justice of the Nation, their Jurisdiction had probably in a short time shrunk into it's own Channel, and the stoutest Stickler for the violent Party been glad to compound for an Act of Oblivion.

The Committee at *Grocers-Hall*, very much encouraged to find the Concurrence of the two Houses in every thing they proposed, resolved to reap all the Advantage they cou'd from that Season of their Power; so that without condescending to return any Answer to the King's Message, they agreed upon "a new Remonstrance, in which they wou'd represent to the King the Causes of the present Evils; and propose to him, by way of Advice, what Remedies were proper to be applied to 'em."

*The Committee at Grocers-Hall agree upon a new Remonstrance.*

The Causes they said were "the evil Council about the King and Queen; the Influence the Priests and Jesuits had upon her Majesty, and her Interposition in the great Affairs of State, disposing of Places and Preferments of the highest Consequence; the delaying a due Reformation of the Church-Government and Liturgy; the Want of a Preaching Ministry, and a competent Provision for them; the Votes of the Popish Lords in the House of Peers; the Favour shou'd those who had adhered to Delinquents, and the ill Usage of those who had appeared as Witnesses against 'em; the Breaches of the Privileges of Parliament, and managing the great Affairs of the Nation by Men unknown in Cabinet Councils; the advancing Men to Honour and Trust, and removing others in Parliament Time, without the Consent of that Supreme Council; and divers other Particulars; to which they thought these Remedies following most natural to be applied.

"That all Privy-Counsellors, and others in any Trust and Imployment abroad, should be dismiss'd

“from their Places, and only such admitted as the  
 “Parliament should recommend; and that those who  
 “were so displaced, and should not be again recom-  
 “mended, should be forbid the Court; that all  
 “Priests, Papists, and ill-affected Persons, tho’ out-  
 “wardly professing the Protestant Religion, shou’d  
 “be removed from about the Queen, and that  
 “such an Oath, as should be prescribed by the  
 “Parliament, should be taken by all her Servants.

“That the King would banish from Court  
 “*Mr. Will. Murrey, Mr. Porter, Mr. John Winter, and*  
 “*Mr. Will. Crofts,* being all Persons of evil Fame, a-  
 “verse to the publick Peace and Prosperity of the  
 “Kingdom, and the Promoters of Jealousies and  
 “Discontents between the King and the Parli- ment;  
 “that the King would not listen to any Advice from  
 “the Queen, in Matters concerning Religion, or the  
 “Government of any of his Dominions, or for the  
 “preferring or discharging any great Officers, Coun-  
 “sellors, Embassadors, or Agents abroad, or any Ser-  
 “vants attending his Royal Person, or the Prince,  
 “or any of the Royal Issue, after they shall arrive  
 “to the Age of Five Years.

“That the Queen should take a solemn Oath, in  
 “the Presence of both Houses of Parliament, that  
 “she wou’d not for the future deal in any wise with  
 “the King, concerning the Disposal of any of the  
 “Employments above mentioned, or intermeddle in  
 “any Affairs of State.

“That all Officers and Counsellors should take a  
 “solemn Oath, that they had not obtain’d their Of-  
 “fice or Preferment by the Queen’s Mediation, di-  
 “rectly or indirectly. That all Matters of State,  
 “that were fit for the Council, should be transacted  
 “by the Privy-Counsellors only, and such as were  
 “fit for the Parliament, by the Parliament only.

“That

“That no Person whatsoever should presume to  
 “forward or sollicit, under the Penalty of Treason,  
 “the Marriage of any of the Royal Issue, with any  
 “Prince or Person of the Popish Religion, nor such  
 “Marriage be concluded with any Person whatsoever,  
 “without the Advice and Consent of both Houses  
 “of Parliament; that none of his Majesty’s Children,  
 “except the Princess *Mary*, then affianced, shou’d  
 “go beyond the Seas without the Consent of the  
 “Parliament; and that no Person, under the Penalty  
 “of High-Treason, should be aiding or assisting  
 “therein, without the like Consent of both Houses  
 “of Parliament.

“That no Mass should be celebrated in the Courts  
 “of the King or Queen, or in the House of any  
 “Subject of the Kingdom, and that more Laws  
 “shou’d be provided against Papists; all Priests that  
 “were condemn’d should be executed, and the Po-  
 “pish Lords excluded the House of Peers; a Re-  
 “formation of the Church-Government and Litur-  
 “gy be made by the Parliament, and no Penalty be  
 “incurred for the omitting any Ceremonies, ‘till that  
 “Reformation should be perfect; that all Delinquents  
 “should be liable to such Penalties and Forfeitures,  
 “as should be imposed by a Bill in Parliament.

“That whoever, being a Member of the House of  
 “Commons that Parliament, had been accused of a-  
 “ny Offence against that House, and whilst the Ac-  
 “cusation was depending, had been called up to the  
 “House of Peers, should by Act of Parliament be  
 “expell’d that House; and that for the future, no  
 “Member of their House should be made a Peer  
 “without their Consent; and they, who have been  
 “made such, should be made incapable of Voting,  
 “unless both Houses should allow of it; that no  
 “Member of either House shou’d be advanc’d or  
 “displaced, without the Consent of that House



“whereof he is a Member; and whosoever of either  
 “House had been promoted to any Office or Em-  
 “ployment since the Parliament began, might be  
 “put out of their Places.

“That his Majesty would discover who they  
 “were advised him to accuse those Members, and  
 “that he would publicly declare and promise in  
 “Parliament, never hereafter to receive Information  
 “against any Member of either House, for any thing  
 “done in the House, without discovering the Names  
 “of the Informers.

These, and other Particulars of the like Nature, I  
 insert here, this being the proper time of their  
 Birth, that Men may see how designing they were  
 in the Infancy of their visible Power and Advantage,  
 tho’ they were not avowedly own’d to the World  
 ’till long after; for by that time they had formed  
 and digested these Projections, they found the World  
 was not so universally blind as it had been, and that  
 the King’s Carriage, in reference to the excluded  
 Members, made not a greater Noise than the Tu-  
 mults, and the forcing the King from *London*, and  
 not suffering him to be easie at *Hampton-Court*. Be-  
 sides, the Lords begun to receive new Courage, and  
 tho’ they were somewhat infatuated with the Fears  
 and Jealousies of their Privileges, yet they thought  
 Encroachments of that Nature capable of a Repara-  
 tion, and were therefore inclinable to listen to any  
 Overture from his Majesty to that purpose. It was  
 therefore concluded that it was too soon to do all  
 at once, ’till they had perverted more Men to their  
 Designs, and resolved to win their Ground by  
 Inches.

The King finding they took little or no notice of  
 his former Messages, but that they were still dri-  
 ving on in the High-ways of Destruction, resolved  
 to send such a Message to both Houses, as might at  
 least

least divide those who wish'd well to the publick Peace from the Factors of Confusion; and therefore on the 20th of Jan. propos'd to 'em by Message in Writing, "That for the preventing those manifold Distractions which hung o'er the Kingdom, they would speedily take into Consideration whatever they held necessary, as well for the Support of the Regal Authority and Settlement of the Revenue, as for the present and future Establishment of their Privileges, the quiet Enjoyment of their Estates and Liberties, the Safety of the true Religion now profess'd in the Church of England, and the ordinary Ceremonies in such a manner as might leave room for no just Offence; which when they had so formed into one entire Body, that so his Majesty and themselves might be better able to judge of 'em, his Majesty would then make it appear, what small Grounds some Persons had for the Jealousies they seem'd to apprehend, and how ready he would be, not only to equal, but to exceed the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their People; so that if these present Distractions did not by the Blessing of God end in a happy Accommodation, he would then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, he had omitted nothing that was to be done on his part.

The Lords received this Message with the Sense they ought, and desired the Commons to join with 'em in returning their Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Offers, and to assure him, "They would immediately consider what he had propos'd. However, both Houses join'd the next Day in a Petition to the King, "That he would send in his Proofs, and proceed against the accused Members, or declare them to be Innocent, and himself to be ill advised; to which his Majesty answered, "He

*The King sends another Message to both Houses.*

*Both Houses Petition the King about the accused Members.*

"was

“was ready to proceed against ‘em; but to prevent  
 “any new Mistakes, he desired it might be re-  
 “solved, whether he was bound in respect of Privi-  
 “leges to proceed by Impeachment in Parliament, or  
 “might prefer an Indictment at Common-Law, or  
 “was at Liberty to chuse either; ‘till that was re-  
 “solved, he thought it improper to discover what  
 “Proof he had against ‘em, but then he would give  
 “such speedy Direction for Prosecution, as might  
 “quickly determine the Matter.

This Answer raised ‘em new Offence and Trouble;  
 and if the King’s Council had had the Courage to  
 insist upon Matter of Law, they would have  
 been at a loss to procure a Resolution that would  
 serve ‘em in every Respect, and have been content  
 to suspend their Judgment, that so the King might  
 suspend his Prosecution. But having excluded all  
 mention of Law, they answered his Majesty with-  
 out any Hesitation, “That they were first to know  
 “what Evidence there was to prove the Guilt, be-  
 “fore they could conclude upon the Manner of the  
 “Prosecution; which they grounded upon a new  
 Maxim, “That no Member of Parliament could be  
 “Arrested without the Consent of the House, and  
 “they could not give or deny their Consent without  
 “a Knowledge of the Crime, and Proof for which  
 “he stood accused. The Conclusion had been true  
 had the Terms been just; but the Argument was  
 to be inverted, that their Consent was not to be  
 ask’d, because they had no Cognisance of the Crime,  
 nor were Judges, if the Accusation were good in Law,  
 or sufficiently proved in Fact.

In the Address of Thanks, the Commons prepared  
 for the King’s gracious Message on the Twentieth  
 of Jan. they had desired, “That to warrant their  
 “Confidence, and remove their Jealousies, that they  
 “might apply themselves to satisfy his Majesty in  
 “the



“the Method he propos’d, his Majesty would immediately commit the Tower to the Government of such a Person they should recommend to him; in which the Lords differed from ’em, as well for that the naming a Governor there was the King’s peculiar Right, as that it was already in the Hands of a Person of as fair a Reputation in every Respect, as any Gentleman in *England*. The Commons, much concern’d that the Lords had once more the Courage to dissent from ’em in any thing, resolv’d to press the King upon their own Account, and get the Appointment of so great an Officer to themselves.

And therefore on the 26th of *Jan.* they Petitioned him in their own Name; and after a return of their most humble Thanks for his Majesty’s late gracious Message to ’em, they said, “They had desired the Peers to join with ’em in an humble Request to his Majesty, to commit the Tower, and other Principal Forts of the Kingdom, into the Hands of such as should be recommended to him by both Houses of Parliament, wherein their Lordships had refused to join with them. But they, nevertheless, confiding in his Majesty’s Goodness to his People, in all Humility beseech’d him, that the Tower of *London*, and other Principal Forts, and all the Militia of the Kingdom, might be entrusted in the Hands of such as the House of Commons should recommend to him, not doubting a speedy and gracious Answer to that their humble Request, without which the distracting Fears of the Kingdom must, in all probability, needs overwhelm it in Misery and Ruin.

This Petition no way discomposed his Majesty, who was well pleas’d to see, since they were averse to such a Degree of Reasonableness as might compose all Breaches, they would by their Peremptoriness probably

ly sever those from 'em, who were not quite so desperate as themselves: And when the Peers should see that the Commons arrogantly demanded, by their single Suffrage, the appointing Men to such Important Places, they would conclude, that such insolent Askers deserved not only to be denied, but reformed; yet, lest real and just Fears might arise to suppress those imaginary ones, he vouchsafed a very gracious Answer to that Petition, and told 'em, "He hoped his gracious Message would have produced "some such Overture, as by offering what was proper on their Parts to do, and by asking what was "fit for him to grant, might have created a mutual "Confidence between 'em. Concerning the Tower, "having entrusted it with a Person of a known Fortune, and unblemish'd Reputation, he did not expect they would have urged him to remove him, "without objecting any particular Charge against "him; however if upon due Examination he appeared to be unfit for so great a Trust, he would "make no difficulty of discharging him; 'till then "he thought himself obliged in Justice to preserve "his own Work, lest his Favour, without any other Accusation, should prove prejudicial to his "Servants, of which he hoped the House of Commons would be so tender, his Honour being so "nearly concerned in it, that they would rather labour "to silence and reform the Fears of other Men, "than by humouring 'em urge his Majesty to that "which so much reflected on his Honour and Justice.

"For the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, the "Nomination of Persons to 'em, being so inseparable "a Flower of his Crown transmitted down to him "from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of "the Kingdom, he would reserve to himself; but "would take care no corrupt or sinister Practices "should

“ should prevail with him in that respect, and was  
“ willing to declare, he should express that Favour  
“ to no Persons so soon as those who should be con-  
“ spicuous for their good Behaviour in, or to the  
“ Parliament.

“ For the Militia of the Kingdom, the Authori-  
“ ty of which was lawfully vested in him, when a-  
“ ny particular Method for ordering the same should  
“ be considered, digested, and proposed to him, he  
“ would return such an Answer, as consisted with  
“ his own Honour, and the Safety of his People;  
“ he being resolved to deny nothing, but what if  
“ granted would alter the Fundamental Laws, and  
“ nourish a greater and more pernicious Jealousie be-  
“ tween the Crown and the Subject, than any of  
“ those which such a Concession would seem to a-  
“ bolish.

He said, “ He was unwilling to imagin his grant-  
“ ing more than ever Prince had granted, would en-  
“ courage them to ask more than Subjects ever de-  
“ manded, but if they would inform him of the  
“ particular Grounds of their Fears, he would very  
“ readily apply suitable Remedies; for he called God  
“ to Witness, the publick Peace and Liberty of his  
“ Subjects, should always be as dear to him, as his  
“ own Life or that of his Children.

“ And therefore he conjur'd 'em, by their Hopes  
“ of future Happiness in his Majesty and one ano-  
“ ther, by their Love of Religion and the Peace of  
“ the Kingdom, that they would not, out of the  
“ Apprehension of possible Dangers, throw his Ma-  
“ jesty and themselves into real and present Inconve-  
“ niences, but would speedily pursue the Method  
“ proposed in his former Message, which, hu-  
“ manly speaking, was the only way to quiet  
“ the Distractions of the Kingdom, and would,  
“ with



“ with God’s Blessing, restore a great measure of Felicity to King and People.

This Answer being not only a Denial, but such an Expostulation as would expose their Counsels to the less Reverence of the People if they should give Ground, they therefore resolved to go thorough stitch, or perish in the Attempt; and therefore they begin once more to muster up their Friends in the City, and by their Emissaries instruct the People in a new Language. All Petitions now must require “ The Kingdom to be put into a Posture of Defence, as the only Safeguard against the many “ Plots and Conspiracies on foot, and secure ’em from “ their own Fears and Jealousies. More Petitions were prefer’d to the House of Commons, in the Name of those who usually went to the Mint with Bullion, pretending “ They durst not carry their “ Bullion thither, being unsatisfied with the present “ Lieutenant, and therefore desired he might be put “ out; with more to the like purpose.

They had taken wholly upon themselves the Management of the War in *Ireland*, and for many Reasons neither were, nor desired to be very expedite in that Affair; yet having poisoned the Minds of the People, at least with a Suspicion that the Court encouraged that Rebellion, they always represented the Slowness of those Proceedings to the King’s Disadvantage.

*The Commons desire to borrow Money of the City.*

*The Common-Council’s Answer.*

About that time they had desired to borrow One Hundred Thousand Pounds of the City for managing that War, which gave the Common-Council an Opportunity of returning their Notions and Advice upon the general State of Affairs. They said, “ They could lend no more Money by reason of those Obstructions, by which the Peace of the Kingdom “ was threatned, and already become almost desperate. That the Bill for pressing of Soldiers still “ de-

“ depending with the Lords unpas’d, made People  
 “ fear there was rather a Design to lose that King-  
 “ dom, and involve this in its Ruin, than to pre-  
 “ serve either.

“ That the not entrusting the Forts in such Hands  
 “ in whom the Parliament could confide, and settling  
 “ the Kingdom in a posture of Defence, the not ap-  
 “ pointing such a Person Lieutenant of the Tower  
 “ as was acceptable to the Parliament, must necessa-  
 “ rily overthrow Trading more and more, and cre-  
 “ ate a greater Scarcity of Money throughout the  
 “ Kingdom. That the Misunderstanding between  
 “ the King and the Parliament, the not asserting the  
 “ Privileges thereof, the accusing some Members of  
 “ Treason, to discourage others from discharging  
 “ their Trust, could not but discourage Men well  
 “ affected to the Publick, and disable ’em from af-  
 “ fording that chearful Assistance, which otherwise  
 “ they would be glad to afford. These Evils, they  
 “ said, arose from the employing ill-affected Persons  
 “ about the King; and that the Votes of Bishops  
 “ and Popish Lords in the House of Peers still con-  
 “ tinued them. And so having faithfully represent-  
 “ ed, as they said, the true Reasons which obliged  
 “ ’em to return that Answer, they protested before  
 “ God and the High Court of Parliament, that if  
 “ any further Calamities befel their dear Brethren in  
 “ *Ireland*, it ought not to be charged to them, but  
 “ to such who obstructed the speedy Cure of the  
 “ Evils before recited.

At the same time were presented other Petitions *Petitions*  
 from, and in the Name of other Inhabitants of *Mid- likewise*  
*dlesex, Essex, and Hartford*, all tending to the same *from sever-*  
 Purpose; one of ’em adding, “ That the malignant *ral Coun-*  
 “ Party of Bishops, *Papists*, and their Adherents, *ties con-*  
 “ were inconsistent with the happy Success of the *cerning the*  
 “ Parliament. These Petitions, and the Answer *Militia.*  
 from

from the Common-Council, were thought plentiful Materials for a Conference with the Lords, who were thereby to be reminded of their Duty. To which Purpose Mr. *Pym*, after he had deliver'd 'em to the Lords at a Conference, told their Lordships, " They might in those Petitions hear the Voice, or rather the Cry of the whole Nation, and observe the Groans and miserable Complaints of all. After a long Discourse of the Invasions the Kingdom was threatned with from abroad, and Insurrections at home, he told 'em, " The Obstructions that had brought that Distemper upon them, were principally the Obstruction of Reformation in Matters of Religion; that tho' the Grievances of that kind had been partly removed by the Wisdom of the Parliament, yet many were still behind, and as long as their Power was continued to the Bishops, and corrupt Part of the Clergy, there would be small Hopes of Redress. And of that Obstruction, he said, he must acquit the Commons, who were clear of whatever Mischief it should produce; they might have their share of the Misery, but none in the Guilt or Dishonour.

" He told 'em, there was a great Obstruction in Trade, which was the Food and Nourishment of the Kingdom, and declared, the House of Commons had no ways occasion'd that Obstruction; " They had eased Trade of many heavy Burdens, and deliver'd it from Patents and Monopolies; they had sought to give the Merchants all Security in Respect to the Tower of *London*, that so they might be encouraged to bring their Bullion into the Mint, as they had done in former Times.

" He told 'em, there was an Obstruction in the Relief of *Ireland*, but cleared the Commons from any Neglect therein; they had agreed to the Le-

vies



"vies of Men and Mony, but the Want of Com-  
 "missions for raising Men, that is, the Bill about Pres-  
 "sing, and several other Impediments, had occasi-  
 "oned that Obstruction; nay, he said, there were  
 "not only Impediments among themselves, but the  
 "Rebels were encouraged; for many of their chief  
 "Leaders now at the Head of 'em, had by his Ma-  
 "jesty's immediate Warrants been suffer'd to pass,  
 "after both Houses had shut the Ports against  
 "all *Irish* Papists, which was owing to some evil  
 "Instruments, too near to his Royal Person, and  
 "he believed, done without his Knowledge or In-  
 "tention.

"He said, there was an Obstruction in putting  
 "the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence, which, how  
 "much they had labour'd to remove, and where the  
 "Fault lay, and with how much Justice they might  
 "proclaim their Innocency in that Particular, they  
 "appeal'd to their Lordships.

He told 'em, "The Fountain of that Distemper  
 "were the evil Councils about the King, the great  
 "Power a factious, malignant Party had in Parlia-  
 "ment, the fomenting that Party throughout the  
 "Kingdom, and the Jealousies between the King  
 "and his Parliament.

And after many bitter seditious Reflections upon  
 the Court, and all who were not of his Opinion, he  
 concluded, "He had nothing to offer to their Lord-  
 "ships, or desire from the House of Commons, not  
 "doubting but their own Judgments would instruct  
 "'em what was to be done, and their Consciences,  
 "their Honours and Interest, wou'd induce 'em to  
 "do it. The Commons would be glad to save the  
 "Kingdom with their Help and Concurrence; but  
 "if their Lordships shou'd fail, it shou'd not hin-  
 "der them from doing their Duty; and whatever  
 "became of the Kingdom, they shou'd be sorry,  
 T "that

“that Posterity, in reading over the Story of this  
 “present Parliament, should find the Commons were  
 “forced to labour for the Preservation of the Coun-  
 “try alone, and that the Peers declined any Part in  
 “the Honour of it, tho’ they were so highly con-  
 “cerned in the Success of those Endeavours, in Re-  
 “spect of their great Estates, and eminent Degrees  
 “of Nobility.

The Conference being ended, the Speaker return’d  
 Mr. *Pym* the solemn Thanks of the House, for his  
 good Service so worthily performed, requiring him  
 to deliver his Speech in Writing to the House, that  
 it might be printed; to the end People might know,  
 besides those Reflections upon the King, how little  
 Care the Lords took of their Welfare and Secu-  
 rity.

An Hour after that Conference, a Petition was  
 presented to the House of Peers, in the Name of the  
 Inhabitants of the County of *Hampford*, in which  
 among other things they complain’d “of the Delay  
 “used in putting the Kingdom in a Posture of De-  
 “fence, and passing those necessary Bills, presented  
 “to ’em from the House of Commons for the pub-  
 “lick Good. And therefore they desired that the  
 “evil Counsellors, and others, obstructing the Good  
 “of the Nation, might be removed from his Ma-  
 “jesty, and the Bishops and Popish Lords be de-  
 “prived from voting in that Honourable House, and  
 “that the Petitioners, who were ready to sacrifice  
 “their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of the  
 “King and Parliament, and especially those Noble  
 “Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses, who la-  
 “bour’d for the Common Good, might have Liberty  
 “to protest against all those as Enemies to the Na-  
 “tion, who would not concur with ’em in settling  
 “the Kingdom in a Way of Safety, under the Com-  
 “mand of such Persons as should be appointed by  
 “Par-

"Parliament. But the House of Peers were not aw'd by this or any other of their Proceedings, tho' their Priviledges were not only assaulted, but the very Liberty of Parliament destroy'd.

It happen'd about this time, that upon some Motion in the Lords House, with which the violent Party there being displeased, and unwilling it should come into a Debate, cried out in a very disorderly Manner, *Adjourn, Adjourn*, whilst others desired the House should not Adjourn; the Duke of *Richmond*, scandalized at that tumultuary Proceeding, without directing himself to the Speaker, said, "If they had a Mind to Adjourn, he wish'd it might be for six Months, or something to that Purpose. Upon which some of the Faction immediately moved, "That the House might not Adjourn, but the Duke be made to explain himself, and answer the "making a Motion, which being granted, wou'd be "the Ruin of the Common-wealth. The Duke answer'd, "He made no Motion, but what he spoke was to "show his Dislike of the other Motion, to Adjourn "at a Time when Business of great Weight was in "Agitation, and that all Men, when he spoke, were "upon their Feet; and therefore he conceived "the House had been up. Upon this he was required to withdraw, and then they who had long born great Envy and Animosity towards him, as the only great Officer at Court, that had Courage enough to oppose their Extravagances, and servile Complying with the Commons, and had with wonderful Constancy preserv'd inviolate his Duty and Loyalty to the King, inveigh'd against that Motion, "as most pernicious to the Kingdom, and destructive to *Ireland*, the War whereof must be at "a Stand, if the Parliament had been Adjourn'd for "six Months, according to his Lordship's Proposal. It was answer'd in his Behalf, "That the Motion



## The HISTORY of

“was not made to the House; that, if it had, it  
 “could be no Crime, every Member having Liber-  
 “ty to make any Motion his Judgment should di-  
 “rect him, which the House had the Power to re-  
 “ject or receive.

After a Debate, full of Bitterness and Virulency,  
 it was resolv'd by a Majority, “That the Duke had  
 “committed no Offence, and so he was clear'd with  
 “all possible Regularity. Upon which the Earls of  
*Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, and Holland*, who  
 thought themselves reproach'd by the Earl's Inte-  
 grity to his Master, enter'd their Protestation with  
 the rest of the Party, “That whereas the Duke of  
 “*Richmond* had made such a Motion, and being que-  
 “stioned for the same, had been acquitted by the  
 “major Part, they absolved themselves from the Mis-  
 “chiefs that might follow in not punishing an Offence,  
 “tending so much to the Damage of King and King-  
 “dom.

This Protestation was the next Day taken notice  
 of in the House of Commons, and the Matter of  
 the Motion discanted upon with all the Strength of  
 Artificial Aggravations, concerning the Person and  
 his Interests. It was said, “An evil Counsellor had  
 “here discover'd himself, and had questionless been  
 “the Author of many of those pernicious Counsels  
 “that had involv'd us in these Troubles; his Education  
 “had been in *Spain*, where he was made a Grandee,  
 “and had notoriously avowed himself of that Faction;  
 “that his Sisters were *Papists*, which called his Affe-  
 “ction to Religion in question; that he had been  
 “ever opposite to all Proceedings tending to Refor-  
 “mation, and had vigorously opposed the Earl of  
 “*Strafford's* Attainder; was a Friend to Episcopacy;  
 “and now to make Reformation a Thing unpos-  
 “sible, for it could not be accomplish'd without the  
 “Concurrence of both Houses, had desperately mov-  
 “ed in the House of Peers, where he had a prevail-

“ing

“ing Faction, that it might Adjourn for six Months,  
 “that so the malignant Party, of which he might  
 “well be accounted the Head, might gather Strength,  
 “all future Hopes become desperate, and *Ireland* be  
 “utterly lost to the *Papists*; that they were there-  
 “fore to make Use of the Opportunity God had  
 “put into their Hands, to remove so dangerous a  
 “Person from the King, and Wardenship of the  
 “Cinque-Ports, and desire the Lords to join with  
 “them in a Request to the King to that Purpose.

On the other Hand it was objected, “That,  
 “whilst they were so sensibly touch’d with a Vio-  
 “lation of their own Privileges, they could no way  
 “better justify the Authors of it, than by offering  
 “the like Violence to the Privilege of the Peers:  
 “That the Life of that Council consisted in the Li-  
 “berty of Speech, and if one House shou’d que-  
 “stion what the other did within those Walls, the  
 “Lords might as well do what they were now do-  
 “ing, and so all Freedom of Debate wou’d be de-  
 “stroyed: That they could not enquire into the  
 “Circumstances of that Motion, if any such was  
 “made, and therefore cou’d form no reasonable Judg-  
 “ment of it; but they had Reason to conclude there  
 “was no Offence in the Motion, since the major Part of  
 “that House had upon a solemn Debate agreed there  
 “was none in it; that they were the proper and on-  
 “ly Judges in that Case; and for the Commons to  
 “concern themselves in it, was by the Strength of  
 “a Majority in the House of Commons, to make the  
 “Minor Part of the Lords House superior to the  
 “Major; which they would not allow to be offer’d  
 “to themselves.

It was alledged, “That the Duke was a Person  
 “of so unblemish’d a Fame, that in all the Discove-  
 “ries of Court-Offences, they cou’d lay nothing to  
 “his Charge; that his Education (as it was usual  
 “with the greatest Persons) had been for some Years

"beyond the Seas, but more in *France* and *Italy*, than  
 "in *Spain*, where the King had conferr'd the Ho-  
 "nour of a Grandee upon him out of Respect to his  
 "great Quality, and no Question, as a Compliment  
 "to this Nation, with whom he was then in strict  
 "Alliance. That his Affection to the Protestant  
 "Religion was indisputable; for, tho' his Sisters,  
 "who had been brought up under their Mother,  
 "were Papists, yet his Brothers, of whose Educa-  
 "tion he had taken the sole Care, were, like himself,  
 "very good Protestants.

"That his Opinions in Parliament had been so  
 "very open, that there was no Room to believe  
 "he used any ill Arts in private, since he had the  
 "Courage to do that aloud, at which he cou'd not  
 "but think a great many would be displeased. That  
 "it would cast a great Reflection upon their Coun-  
 "cils and Discoveries, if after so long a Talk of a  
 "malignant Party, and wicked Counsellors, they  
 "shou'd first load this Lord with that Imputation  
 "upon such an Occasion, as must involve all those  
 "that absolved him, which were the major Part of  
 "the Lords. In short, that it would look as if they  
 "had invented those Words to scare Men, and re-  
 "serv'd to themselves to apply to all those with whom  
 "they were displeased.

Notwithstanding all this, after a Debate (the long-  
 est ever had been in Parliament, except that of the  
 Remonstrance) in which it was plain, they mean'd  
 as much as they cou'd, to Confound whom they cou'd  
 not Convert, it was resolv'd, "The Duke should  
 "be accused to the Lords, as one of the malignant  
 "Party, and an evil Counsellor to his Majesty, and  
 "desire 'em to concur with them in a Request to  
 "the King, that he wou'd discharge him from any  
 "Office or Employment about his Person; which  
 the Lords so far received, that tho' the Desire was re-



rejected, they express'd not the least Dislike or Disapprobation of the Matter or Manner of it.

Having thus master'd their Design, and driven so many Lords, besides the Bishops, from the House, and taught the rest how to behave themselves, at least how they provoked the good Lords to protest, they resolv'd once more to try how they stood affected to the Business of the Militia, and therefore their old Friends, under a new and more allowed Stile of Petitioners, flock'd in the same Numbers to *Westminster*, and delivered two notable Petitions to the House of Commons, one from the Porters, 15000. as they said, in Number; the other in the Name of many Thousands of poor People, in and about the City of *London*. — The Porters confessed with great Eloquence “the exceeding Pains that “House had been at for the Good of Church and “State, tho’ the Effects thereof did not appear through “the Malevolence of a Malignant, Rebellious, “Blood-sucking Party, who insulted the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, “and fomented the *Irish* Rebellion. That Trade “languish’d through the Jealousies and Distractions “they lay under, in Regard the Cinque-Ports were “unfortified, which was a great Incouragement to “*Papists*, and animated foreign Powers to invade us; “therefore they besought that Honourable House, “speedily to take such Measures as might quell the Insolence of the malignant Party at Home; that the “Cinque-Ports might be fortified, the People put “into a Posture of Defence; that Trade might be “restored among ’em, and they be thereby relieved “from their pressing Wants. They further desired, “Offenders might be brought to speedy Justice, “and be punish’d according to their Deserts; if “those Things shou’d be any longer delay’d, they “shou’d be forced to such Extremities they durst

“not name, and to verifie that Saying, that Necessity hath no Law. They added, they had nothing to lose but their Lives, which they were ready to sacrifice, according to their Protestation, in Defence of the House of Commons.

The other, for the Rareness of it, and the strange Effects it produced, is inserted in the Terms it was presented. Thus,

*To the Honourable the House of Commons now assembled in Parliament.*

“The humble Petition of many thousands of poor People, in and about the City of London.

“**H**umbly sheweth, That your Petitioners have lain a long time under great Pressures and Grievances, both in Liberties and Consciences, as hath been largely and sundry times showed and declared, by severall Petitions exhibited to this Honourable Assembly, both by the Citizens and Apprentices of the City of London, and divers Countries and Parts of the Kingdom, from which we hoped, long e’er this, by your Pious Care to have been delivered.

“But now we, who are of the meanest Rank and Quality, being touch’d with Penury, are very sensible of the approaching Ruin which hangs over our Heads, and threatens to overwhelm us, by reason of the sad Distractions occasioned chiefly and originally, as your Petitioners humbly conceive, by the Prevalency of the Bishops and the Popish Lords, and others of that malignant Faction, who make Abortive all good Motions which tend to the Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom of

“*Eng.*

“*England*, and have hitherto hinder’d the sending  
“Relief to our Brethren in *Ireland*, tho’ they lye  
“weltring in Blood, which hath given such Head  
“to the Adversaries, that we justly fear the like  
“Calamities inevitably to befall us here, when they  
“have vented their Rage and Malice there.

“All which occasions so great a decay and stop  
“of Trade, that your Petitioners are utterly im-  
“poverished, and our Miseries are grown insup-  
“portable; who having already spent all that little  
“Means, which we had formerly by God’s Blessing  
“and our great Labour obtained; and many of us  
“have not, nor cannot tell where to get Bread to  
“sustain our selves and Families; and others of us  
“are almost arrived at the same Port of Calamity;  
“so that unless some speedy Remedy be taken for  
“the removal of all such Obstructions, which hinder  
“the happy Progress of your great Endeavours,  
“your Petitioners shall not rest in Quietness, but  
“shall be forced to lay hold on the next Remedy  
“which is at Hand, to remove the Disturbers of  
“our Peace: Want and Necessity breaking the  
“Bounds of Modesty; and rather than your Petiti-  
“oners will suffer themselves and their Families to  
“perish through Hunger and Necessity, tho’ hither-  
“to patiently groan’d under, they cannot leave any  
“Means unessay’d for their Relief. The Cry there-  
“fore of the Poor and Needy, your poor Petitioners,  
“is, that such Persons who are the Obstacles of our  
“Peace, and Hinderers of the happy Proceedings  
“of this Parliament, and the Enjoyment of the look-  
“ed for Purity of Religion, Safety of our Lives,  
“and Return of our Welfares, may be forthwith  
“publickly declared, to the end they may be made  
“manifest; the Removal of whom, we humbly con-  
“ceive, will be a Remedy to cure our Miseries,  
“and put a Period to these Distractions; and that  
“those



“those Noble Worthies of the House of Peers,  
 “who concur with your happy Votes, may be  
 “earnestly desired to join with this Honourable  
 “House, to Sit and Vote as one entire Body, which  
 “we hope will remove from us our destructive Fears,  
 “and prevent that, which Apprehension will make  
 “the wisest and peaceablest Men to put into Exe-  
 “cution.

“For the Lord’s sake hear us, and let our Reli-  
 “gion, Lives and Welfares, be precious in your  
 “sight, that the Loins of the Poor may bless you,  
 “and pray, &c.

The House, according to its accustomed Con-  
 descention, ordered Thanks to be returned these  
 extravagant Petitioners by the Speaker, with an As-  
 surance, they had then those things, whereof they  
 complain’d, under Consideration; to which some of  
 that Rabble replied, and no doubt as they had been  
 taught, “That they never distrusted the House of  
 “Commons, but heard the only Obstruction lay a-  
 “mong the Lords, and desired to know the Names  
 “of those Peers, who opposed the Concurrence be-  
 “tween the good Lords and the Commons; which  
 they press’d with unheard of Insolence, and were  
 prevailed upon to withdraw with much seeming un-  
 willingness, whilst the House took the Matter into  
 a further Consideration. And tho’ many of the  
 Members, some of which had been insulted by that  
 rude Rabble as they were coming to the House, in-  
 sisted, “That it would be a great Blemish to their  
 “Counsels, if they were encouraged in such licentious  
 “Proceedings; they were again called in, and told,  
 “That the House of Commons would persist, as  
 “they had begun, in an Endeavour to relieve ’em;  
 “and made no doubt but when they had delivered  
 “their Petition to the Lords, as they intended pre-  
 “sently to do, the source of those Evils would be  
 “dis-

“discovered, and some speedy Method taken for  
“their Redress, and therefore advised ’em patiently  
“to expect a further Answer. Accordingly that Pe-  
tition, after a solemn reading, was delivered to the  
Lords at a Conference, which was no sooner ended  
than Mr. *Hollis*, whom his Majesty had accused a  
Month before of High-Treason, was sent to the  
Lords to desire ’em “to join with the Commons  
“in a Request to the King concerning the Militia,  
and added, “If that Desire was not comply’d with-  
“al, he wish’d those Lords, who were ready to  
“Concur, would distinguish themselves, that those,  
“by whom they were sent, might know who were  
“against ’em.

Upon this the Lords resumed the Debate, which  
the Earl of *Northumberland* open’d with a Profession,  
“That whosoever opposed a Concurrence with the  
“Commons in that Particular were, in his Opinion,  
“Enemies to the Publick; tho’ the major part of  
the House had denied twice before to join with it,  
yet when his Lordship was questioned for that Un-  
parliamentary Language, all that Faction adhered to  
him, declaring, “They were of that Opinion too;  
the Mob waiting without to put whatever they di-  
rected in Execution. So that many Lords, out of  
a generous Indignation to see their Honours and  
their Liberties prostituted by themselves to the Peo-  
ple, others afraid to persist in their former Resolu-  
tions, withdrawing, the Bill was pass’d by the major  
part of those who staid.

*The Lords  
pass’d the  
Militia  
Bill.*

A few Days after this Submission of the Lords,  
another Petition, pretended to be subscrib’d by a-  
bove two thousand People, Inhabitants of *Surry*, and  
of the ordinary Strain, was presented to the House,  
which being read and approved, and the Petitioners  
thank’d for their kind Expressions therein, it was  
delivered by them to the Peers at the Bar of their  
own

own House, who within a Day pass'd the Bill against the Bishops, and that for Pressing, which had lain so long desperate, whilst the Lords were suffer'd to sit with freedom in the House. All which wonderful Matters being accomplished, both Houses Adjourn again into the City, there to design their future Agitations.

Upon the Second of *Feb.* some Members from both Houses present the King a Petition at *Windsor*, "That he would immediately commit the Tower, "and all other Forts of the Kingdom, into such "Hands as both Houses of Parliament could confide in, as a sure means to remove all Diffidence "between his Majesty and his People, and confirm "his Majesty's Honour, Power and Greatness, with "that of his Posterity, and settle a lasting Peace "and Happiness in all his Dominions; to which their "most necessary Petition they expected a speedy "and gracious Answer.

With this they presented another Petition relating to the accused Members, beseeching his Majesty to give order, "That the Parliament might be informed within two Days what Evidence he had against "em, that thereupon they might be brought to a "Legal Trial; it being the unquestioned Right of "Parliament, that no Members should be prosecuted "without their Consent.

His Majesty now perceived those Persons would admit of no Composition, but by degrees were stealing so much Power into their own Hands, that they had no need to care for what was remaining in his; and that they had the Art of imposing upon the People's Understanding against their own Reason, and to persuade 'em "they were in Danger of an Invasion, when the King was not only in Peace with all Christian Princes, but the rest of Christendom so engaged in War, that they all de-  
fired



fired his Friendship and Assistance; " That there was  
 " a Deadness of Trade, and a growing Poverty  
 " throughout the Kingdom, when the like Plenty  
 and Trade had never been known.

He resolv'd therefore to reside at a greater Distance from *London*, and positively to deny passing any Act, except what related to *Ireland*, 'till he had a full Prospect of what they design'd to demand, and what Returns they would make for all his Condescensions; which Resolution was no more than what was usual in Parliament, the King rarely consenting to any Acts formerly 'till the Session was determined.

The Truth is, when his Majesty perceived how ill his Accusation against the Five Members succeeded, and that the Petitioners were no better than an Army, govern'd by those he had no Reason to confide in; and that all who express'd any signal Zeal to his Service would be removed from him, under the Notion of Delinquents, he resolv'd the Queen should remove to *Portsmouth*, and that himself would go to *Hull*; and that being secured in those Places of Strength, whither his Friends might resort, and be protected, he would sit quiet, 'till the angry Party could be brought to Reason. But this so secret a Resolution (both Bed-Chambers being inhabited by diligent Spies) was discover'd to those who obtain'd the Orders before mentioned, concerning *Hull* and *Portsmouth*; for which Reason, and a Promise from several Lords, that they would vigorously unite to support the Regal Power; together with the extream Fear the Queen had of Danger, that Counsel was laid aside: And it was concluded,

" The Queen should transport her self into *Holland* The Queen designs for Holland.  
 " with the Princess *Mary*, married to the young  
 " Prince of *Orange*, there to expect in patience an  
 " Amendment of the Affairs in *England*; and the  
 " King

" King retire to *York*, and listen to no Particulars  
 " 'till he knew how far the Alteration would extend.  
 But they publish'd only the first Resolution relating  
 to the Queen, both their Majesties being in such great  
 Wants, that the Queen was forc'd to sell or coin  
 her Chamber Plate, for her most necessary Expences,  
 the Exchequer being empty, at least the Ministers  
 of the Revenue had no Power there, and the Offi-  
 cers of the Customs injoynd by the Commons to  
 pay no Money without their particular Consent and  
 Approbation.

It was plain now the accused Members were too  
 strong for the King, or the Law, and therefore he  
 resolv'd to think no more of that business. And so  
 he answer'd to that Petition, " That as he once thought  
 " he had ground enough to accuse 'em, so now he  
 " found as good Reason wholly to decline any Pro-  
 " secution of them. The other, concerning the  
 Militia, gave him more Trouble; for though he  
 was positive never to consent to it, yet 'till all things  
 were prepared for the Queen's Journey, and his own  
 Remove, he chose rather to delay than deny it;  
 and therefore returned this Answer: " That he was  
 " willing to remove not only their Dangers, but  
 " their Doubts and Fears, and therefore when he  
 " knew the Extent of the Power design'd to be esta-  
 " blish'd in those, who were to command the Mili-  
 " tia, and how long it must be that his Majesty  
 " must execute no Power alone without the Ad-  
 " vice of Parliament, then he would put such Per-  
 " sons as both Houses of Parliament should recom-  
 " mend to him, into the Forts, and over the Mili-  
 " tia, provided they named none against whom his  
 " Majesty had just and unanswerable Exception.

With this Answer, tho' it was no Consent, they  
 were notably encouraged, since it serv'd to unite the  
 vulgar Minds to 'em, who struck in with them ac-  
 cording

according as they saw 'em likely to prevail in what they undertook. And that they might keep the King's Inclination to oblige 'em warm, they return'd the same Day a Message of Thanks, and desired his Majesty in the mean time to make Sir *John Connors*, a Person of great Merit, Lieutenant of the Tower; which being likewise desired by Sir *John Byron*, who had been forced to submit to such Reproaches as a generous Spirit must needs regret, having been brought upon his Knees at the Bar of both Houses as a Delinquent, his Majesty thereupon complied.

Whilst all Care was taken to forward the Queen's Journey, the King (after such sharp Expostulations from 'em for Breach of Privilege) resolv'd in his turn to expostulate with them, and try what Reparation they were inclined to give him, who exacted so much from him. All scandalous Arts had been used to charge the Progress of the *Irish* Rebellion upon the Court; and indeed his Majesty was so moved with those odious Imputations, which had a pernicious Effect upon the Minds of the People, that he was forced to comply with many things contrary to his Judgment, to obviate greater Inconveniences, which he saw were likely to rise against him by those Scandalous Suggestions. Notwithstanding all which, they took all Occasions to charge him with whatever Omissions that great Work met withal; as Mr. *Pym* had more particularly done, in his Speech at the Conference with the Lords, when those seditious Petitions were deliver'd to their Lordships, as we observ'd before, of which the King could take no notice, lest he should be again charged with Breach of Privilege.

But when the House had order'd the Speech to be Printed, he thought there was then Room given him for Vindication, and therefore sent this Message  
in



in a Letter to the Speaker; " That he had met with  
 " a Speech, pretended, by the Title, to have been  
 " delivered by Mr. *Pym* at a Conference, and print-  
 " ed by Order of the House of Commons, in which  
 " it was affirm'd, that notwithstanding the Stop put  
 " upon the Ports against all *Irish* Papists, several now  
 " at the Head of the Rebels had been permitted to  
 " pass, by vertue of a Warrant from his Majesty;  
 " and considering how cautious he had been in grant-  
 " ing Pass-ports, he conceived that Paper had not  
 " been so deliver'd and Printed, or that the House  
 " had been mis-informed; and therefore his Ma-  
 " jesty desired to know, if that Speech had been  
 " so delivered and Printed; if it had, that the House  
 " would review the Information upon which it had  
 " been grounded, that upon a Re-examination it  
 " might appear to be false, or that his Majesty might  
 " know how his Authority came to be so abomina-  
 " bly abused; and so might be able fully to vindi-  
 " cate himself from all Suspicions of that kind.

They did not presently vouchsafe an Answer to  
 his Majesty's Message, but at last reply'd, " That the  
 " Speech had been Printed by their Order, and con-  
 " tain'd nothing but what was agreeable to the Sense  
 " of the House; that they had been inform'd of se-  
 " veral *Irish* Papists, and others, who since the Or-  
 " der of Restraint had obtain'd Passes for *Ireland*,  
 " some of which they heard had put themselves at  
 " the Head of the Rebels; others had been stopp'd,  
 " and were still kept in safe Custody.

Then they named some that had obtained Licen-  
 ces before the Order of Restraint, and were yet re-  
 maining in *England*, and added, " There were o-  
 " thers, whose Names they could not yet learn, but  
 " made no question but upon Examination they should  
 " discover them.

The King reply'd, " As he had always shown  
 " himself ready to satisfy their just Demands, and  
 " retract any thing done by himself, that seem'd to  
 " encroach upon their Privileges, so he hoped they  
 " had the same tender Regard for his Honour and  
 " Reputation with his Subjects; and therefore he  
 " expected they should review his Message relating  
 " to Mr. Pym's Speech, and their Answer, with  
 " which he could not be satisfied. He said, he was  
 " very certain none of those, who headed the Re-  
 " bels, had pass'd by his Warrant or Consent. And  
 " then he advis'd 'em to consider, whether a gene-  
 " ral Information and Advertisement was ground  
 " sufficient for such direct and particular Affirmati-  
 " on, as was made in that Speech. He thought it  
 " very requisite, and expected that they should  
 " name those who had pass'd by his Warrant, and  
 " were then commanding the Rebels; or if upon a  
 " Review they could find no particular Evidence  
 " to make good that Assertion, (as he was well as-  
 " sured they could not) as the Aspersions were very  
 " publick, so by a publick Declaration they would  
 " rectify that Mistake. He said, he had diligently  
 " examined his own Memory, and the Notes of his  
 " Secretaries; and naming all the Persons, to whom  
 " he had granted any Passes since the Beginning of  
 " the Rebellion, he added, " He was confident none  
 " of them had sided with the Rebels; for tho'  
 " some of them might be *Papists*, yet in respect of  
 " their Relation with Persons of great Honour and  
 " Power in that Kingdom, and of whose Fidelity he  
 " was well satisfied, he had no reason in the least to  
 " suspect 'em. And therefore, unless they could pro-  
 " duce some Instances to make good their first Af-  
 " firmation, he expected a Vindication in the way  
 " he had propos'd, which, he said, was no more  
 " than in Justice he might demand.

U

But

But this, and whatever could be urged, was so far from obtaining any Reparation, that when they found the King still insisted in his Demand, and apprehended many thought it due to him, they confidently set forth another Declaration of several Persons Names, who they said had been suffered to pass by his Majesty's immediate Licence, and were then at the Head of the Rebels: Of whose Names his Majesty never heard before, to whom no Licence had been granted, neither did he think there were such Men in Nature; and so left the People to believe as they found themselves influenced by the King's Denial, or their so particular and peremptory Affirmation.

All noble and generous Minds were strangely moved with these Proceedings of the Parliament, whose Pride and Ambition were found so great, that they were resolved to remove all those who opposed any thing they had a mind to, or fill'd up a Place they design'd for some other in whom they could confide.

The Earl of *Newcastle*, Governor to the Prince, knew well upon what Terms he stood with the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland*. He knew they had no mind he should have the Government of the Prince, as one who would instil such Principles into him, as would prove prejudicial to their Designs, and render him disaffected to their Persons. Upon these Considerations, he prudently resolved to retire from Court; where he had wasted much of his own Fortune, and only exposed himself to the Malice and Envy of other Pretenders. This his Inclination he desired his Majesty would approve of, and commit the Prince to the Tuition of some Person of Honour, of undoubted Fidelity towards him, and above the Reach of popular Prejudice; at the same time mentioning the Marquis of *Hartford*, who

*The Earl of Newcastle resigns his Place of being Governor to the Prince.*

was



was indeed too strong for any Temptation. The King could not but approve his Judgment upon his own Interest and Concernment, besides he foresaw he might probably stand in need of his Service under another Qualification, and was therefore willing enough to dismiss him from the Prince.

The Marquis of *Hartford* was a Man of great Honour, Interest, and Estate, and generally esteem'd throughout the whole Kingdom; and tho' the Court had continually disoblig'd him, from the time of this King's coming to the Crown, as well as in the Reign of King *James*; yet he had behaved himself with wonderful Steadiness from the Opening of this Parliament in behalf of the King's Power and Dignity, tho' his nearest Friendship, and all his Allies were of the contrary Party, with whom he never concurr'd against the Earl of *Strafford*, for whom he was known to have not the least Kindness. Add to this, he was constant in his Affection to the Church, tho' his Inclination to the Person of any Church-man did not in the least influence or determine him. It is true, he wanted some of those Qualifications that were necessary in a Person, to whose Care the Education of a great and hopeful Prince is entrusted. He was of an Age unfit for much Activity, and was so given up to his Ease, that he prefer'd his Books to all Exercises whatever, and had contracted such a Laziness of Mind, that he had no Relish of an open and free Conversation, and declined arguing on those Points which he perfectly understood, meerly to avoid the trouble of contending: But then these inferior Duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well maintain the Dignity of a Governor, and require that Diligence from others, which he could not execute himself; and his Honour was so unblemish'd, that no one durst repine at the Designation, and therefore his Majesty conceiv'd him

And is succeeded by the Marquis of Hartford.

very worthy that high Charge, against which there was no other Exception, than that he did not covet it, nor was he willing to undergo a Trust so contrary to his natural Constitution: But in his pure Zeal and Affection for the Crown, at a Conjunction when his Submission might be to the King's Service, he very chearfully undertook it, to the general Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom.

*The King  
press'd to  
pass the  
Bill against  
the Bishops.*

The Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes out of the House of Peers, had no sooner pass'd that House, than the King was earnestly importuned to give his Royal Assent to it. His Majesty return'd, "It was a very weighty Matter, and would therefore consider a little, and return an Answer in convenient time. But their eager Appetites were not pleased with this Delay, and therefore they sent the same Day their Reasons to persuade him "immediately to consent to it. One of those Reasons was, "The Grievances the Subjects labour'd under by "the Bishops temporal Jurisdiction, and their Interest in the Lords House: A second, The happy Concurrence of both Houses in their Absence: A third, That his Majesty, in passing this Bill, "would give 'em a comfortable Assurance of his "gracious Condescension to the future Remedies of "those Evils, which would be offered to him when "this was once passed. Reasons sufficient to convince him, if he had been inclinable to concur with them: For it was in effect to persuade him to agree with them in this, that so he might for the future be able to deny 'em nothing.

However those about his Majesty, who were very well devoted to his Service, tho' in this Point out in their Judgments, persuaded him, "That giving "in to 'em in this Point was the only way to save "the Church; for by passing the Bill many of the Members in both Houses would be fully satisfied, and  
" join

“join in no further Alteration; whereas if they were  
 “cross’d in this, they wou’d be for extirpating Root  
 “and Branch, and demolishing the whole Fabrick of  
 “the Church. They told him his Royal Assent  
 “was importunately solicited for two Things of great  
 “Importance, tho’ not of equal Concernment to his  
 “Sovereign Power; the first, this Bill concerning  
 “the Bishops; the other, the Militia; which if he  
 “should grant, he would thereby strip himself of  
 “all Regal Power; that he would not be able to re-  
 “fuse both, but by consenting to the former, in  
 “which he parted with no Matter of Moment, he  
 “wou’d perhaps not be press’d in the latter.

These Arguments prevailed not so much with his Majesty as the Queen’s Persuasions, who not only thought these Reasons valid, but that her own Safety very much depended upon it; and that if the Bill shou’d be refused, the Parliament would stop her Journey into *Holland*, and her Person be in Danger, either by the Tumults which might with Ease break out from *Westminster* to *Windsor*, or by the Insurrection of the Countries, in her Passage from thence to *Dover*.

These Considerations so far prevailed, that his Majesty, contrary to his most positive Resolution, sent a Commission for the passing that Bill, and the other about Pressing. *Which he passes with that of Pressing.*

The passing the Bishops Bill was a great Weakening to the King’s Party, not only as it lost him so many in the House of Peers, but as it influenc’d others, whose Minds were in Suspence as when Foundations are shaken. Besides they who were best acquainted with the King’s Disposition, had great Reason to believe, nothing cou’d have prevailed with him to consent to so Antimonarchical an Act, and therefore cou’d never after be sure he wou’d deny any thing that was importunately asked; and so ei-



ther withdrew themselves from those Consultations, that they might decline the Envy and Danger of contradicting 'em, or patiently suffer'd themselves to be carried by the Stream, and agree to any thing that was lustily attempted.

The same Day those two Acts were pass'd; an Ordinance for the Settling the Militia was agreed on by both Houses, and was immediately transmitted to the King for his Majesty's Approbation. And since all Miseries that follow, flow'd in a great Measure from that Fountain, it may be necessary to insert it here in the very Terms and Form it was presented.

*An Ordinance for settling the Militia.*

*An Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, for the Ordering of the Militia of England, and Dominion of Wales.*

“**W**HEREAS there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate Design upon the House of Commons, which we have just Cause to believe to be the Effect of the bloody Counsels of the Papists and other ill-affected Persons, who have already raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and by Reason of many Discourses, we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to stir up the like Rebellion and Insurrection of this Kingdom of *England*, but also to back them with Forces from abroad; for the Safety therefore of his Majesty's Person, the Parliament, and Kingdom in this Time of imminent Danger, it is ordained by the King, the Lords, and Commons now in Parliament assembled, That shall have Power to assemble and call together all and singular his Majesty's Subjects in the County of *London* as well within Liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the Wars, and them

"to train, exercise, and put in Readiness, and them,  
 "after their Abilities and Faculties, well and suffi-  
 "ciently from time to time to cause to be arrayed  
 "and weaponed, and to take the Muster of them in  
 "Places most fit for that Purpose, And  
 "shall have Power within the said County, to no-  
 "minate and appoint such Persons of Quality, as to  
 "him shall seem meet to be his Deputy-Lieutenants,  
 "to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament;  
 "and that any one, or more, of the said Deputies  
 "so assign'd and approved of, shall, in the Absence,  
 "or by the Command of the said  
 "have Power and Authority to do and execute with-  
 "in the County of all such Pow-  
 "ers and Authorities before in this present Ordinance  
 "contained; and shall have Power to make  
 "Colonels and Captains, and other Officers, and to  
 "remove out of their Places, and to make others  
 "from time to time, as he shall think fit for that  
 "Purpose. And his Deputies, Colo-  
 "nels and Captains, and other Officers, shall have  
 "further Power and Authority, to lead, conduct,  
 "and employ the Persons aforesaid, arrayed and  
 "weaponed, as well within the County of  
 "as within any other Part of this Realm of *England*,  
 "or Dominion of *Wales*, for the Suppressing of all  
 "Rebellions, Insurrections, and Invasions that may  
 "happen, according as they from time to time shall  
 "receive Directions by his Majesty's Authority,  
 "signified unto 'em by the Lords and Commons as-  
 "sembled in Parliament. And it is further ordain'd,  
 "That such as shall not obey in any of the Pre-  
 "mises, shall answer their Neglect and Contempt  
 "to the Lords and Commons in a Parliamen-  
 "tary Way, and no otherwise, nor elsewhere;  
 "and that every the Powers granted as aforesaid,  
 "shall continue until it shall be otherwise or-

“der’d and declared by both Houses of Parliament,  
“and no longer.

“This to go also to the Dominion of *Wales*.

A second Act of the same Day, and the only Thanks they thought fit to return the Queen for her good Offices in the passing those Bills, was the breaking open a Letter directed to her Majesty, and which they had intercepted. The Lord *Digby*, when he found upon what Terms he stood with the prevailing Party, concluded for his own Security to transport himself into some Parts abroad, and so with the King’s Leave removed into *Holland*; from whence he writ to his Friends in *London*, to acquaint ’em where he was, and to accommodate himself with such things as he wanted. Among these Letters there was one to Sir *Lewis Dives*, his Brother-in-Law, which by the Treachery of the Bearer was brought to the House of Commons, who, for that it was a Letter from a Fugitive, made no Scruple of opening it; and finding one inclosed in it for the Queen, they served that so too, for which they made no other Excuse (when upon a Message from the King they sent a Copy, for they still reserved the Original) than, “That finding in  
“the other Letter several Expressions full of Re-  
“proach and Malignity to the Parliament, they  
“thought her Majesty’s might probably be upon  
“the same Subject, and that it wou’d have been a  
“Disgrace to her Majesty, and prejudicial to the  
“Kingdom, if they had not open’d it. And they  
“besought the King, to persuade her Majesty not  
“to countenance, or hold any Correspondence with  
“the Lord *Digby*, or the rest of the Fugitives and  
“Traitors, whose Offences were under the Exami-  
“nation and Judgment of Parliament.

The



The Letter to the Queen had these Words, "If the King betake himself to a safe Place, where he may avow and protect his Servants, (from Rage I mean, and Violence; for from Justice I will never implore it) "I shall then live in Impatience and Misery, till I wait upon You. But, if after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest Ways of Accommodation, "I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my Absence, than by all my Industry. In that to Sir *Lewis Dives* were these Words, "God knows I have not a Thought to make me blush towards my Country, much less criminal; but where Traitors have so great a Sway, the honestest Thoughts may prove most Reasonable. At which those who thought themselves touch'd, were so highly offended, that within two Days after they charge him with High-Treason, and because no Words in the Letter cou'd rise up to that Offence, they accuse him of raising War against the King; which cou'd bear Relation to nothing he had done, but what we observed before, when, to the great Terror of the King's Subjects, he was seen in a Coach with six Horses at *Kingsfon*. This their Extravagancy I cou'd not omit mentioning, tho' it seems to be directed against a particular Person, that Posterity may view in this severe Prosecution of a Young Nobleman of excellent Parts, and abundant Hopes, a flagrant Instance of the Tyranny and Oppression of that Time, impossible to End, but in the egregious Wickedness that hath since been in Practice.

A third Act of that Day, was an Impeachment preferr'd to the Lords against the Attorney-General, For maliciously advising and contriving the Articles of High-Treason against the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members; so that the same 14th of *Februa-*

ry, that is Famous for the King's Condescension to the Bishops Act, is Memorable likewise for those three unparallel'd Acts of Contempt and Encroachment upon the Royal Prerogative; the Demand of the absolute Power over the Militia; the breaking open Letters directed to the Queen; and impeaching the Attorney-General, for performing his Master's Commands in what he thought the Duty of his Place required of him; and they were all very ill Instances of that Application and good Temper some Men had promised, and the King had Reason to expect.

*His Majesty's  
Answer con-  
cerning the  
Militia.*

Tho' his Majesty was firmly resolved never to condescend to the Proposition concerning the Militia, yet he thought it an unseasonable Time then absolutely to deny it, the Queen being still afraid she shou'd be stopp'd in her Journey: His Answer therefore for the present was, "That his dearest Consort the Queen, and his dear Daughter the Princess *Mary*, being just then departing for *Holland*, he had not time to return a particular Answer to a Thing of so weighty a Moment, as that of the Militia was, and therefore he would defer it 'till his Return: The King intending to bear the Queen Company as far as *Dover*."

*Their Re-  
ply.*

This Answer they received with their usual Impatience, and the next Day sent him that which they term'd an Humble Petition, setting forth, "That they had with great Grief of Heart received his Answer, to their reasonable and necessary Petition, concerning the Militia, which formerly he had been pleas'd to promise, he wou'd put into such Hands, as shou'd be approved of by his Parliament, the Extent of their Power, and Time of their Continuance being first known; which being now done, and the Persons named, his Majesty still put them off to a longer and very uncertain Time, which

“which was an Answer little better than a positive Denial. Therefore they once more besought him to vouchsafe them such an Answer, as might secure them from the Designs of those who are industrious in the Ruin of this Kingdom, and study to kindle that Flame here, which they had in a great Measure effected in *Ireland*, from whence, assisted by the *Papists* there, they design to invade *England*, as they had been inform’d. They said, nothing cou’d prevent those Calamities but an immediate Grant of their Petition, who were bound in Duty to represent to him what they conceived so highly necessary, for the Preservation of his Majesty and the Common-wealth, which the Laws of God and Man oblig’d ’em to see executed, as daily Petitions from several Counties oblig’d ’em to do, and in some Places the County had begun it already of themselves. Notwithstanding all which, his Majesty made ’em no further Answer than what he had formerly done.

In the mean time the Commons, who daily received Petitions from the several Counties of *England*, professing all Allegiance to ’em, reign without control, the Lords agreeing, or rather submitting to all they propose; in so much, as when the House of Peers had bailed the twelve Bishops, which was the Day after the Bill against ’em pass’d, the Commons in great Indignation expostulated with them, and order’d ’em instantly to be recommitted. So they intimated to their Agents in the Country, that they should make small Entries upon the Militia, which in several Places they did, listing and training themselves under the Names of Volunteers; which gave ’em an Opportunity of uniting themselves, and to provide Arms and Ammunition against a time of Need. The Tower of *London* was at their Command, and *Hull* was their own; the Mayor of which Place

*Divers  
Counties  
begin to  
exercise  
the Power  
of the Mi-  
litia.*



Place they had lately sent for, and reprimanded for saying, "The Billetting of Soldiers upon 'em was "against the Petition of Right; and for refusing to commit that Town, with which he was entrusted, to Mr. *Hotham's* Government; and after a long and expensive Attendance, without being able to obtain a publick Hearing, he was persuaded to comply, and so he was discharged.

*Mony raised under Pretence of relieving Ireland.*

The next Thing they did, was the raising of Mony under a Pretence of relieving *Ireland*, and for that End prepared an Act "for the Payment of Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, to such Persons as were "appointed by themselves, and to be applied to such "Uses as the two Houses shou'd direct; which the King confirmed accordingly, and by that Means gave 'em a Stock of Credit to raise Mony upon any Exigency: And this cou'd not be avoided; for the King had committed the Management of the *Irish* War to them; and they being engaged for the Arrears due to the Officers of the *Northern* Army, and the Three Hundred Thousand Pounds to the *Scots*, his Majesty was forced to pass that Act with such general Clauses, as empower'd them to apply the Mony to other Ends than those to which it was given, as they afterwards did.

*The Queen shipp'd for Holland, and the King returns to Greenwich, where the Prince meets him.*

The Queen being embark'd for *Holland*, his Majesty returned for *Greenwich*, where he commanded the Marquis of *Hartford* to meet him with the Prince of *Wales*; with which the Houses being acquainted, they immediately sent a Message to the King as he was returning from *Dover*, with a Desire, "That "the Prince might not be removed from *Hampton-Court*, for that at that time it wou'd promote Fears "and Jealousies in the Hearts of his Loyal Subjects, "which they thought requisite to avoid; and at the same time required the Marquis of *Hartford* by an expresse Order, not to suffer the Prince to go to

*Green-*

*Greenwich*; but his Lordship chose rather to obey the King than them, and so conducted his Highness to his Father; whereupon some Members were sent from both Houses to *Greenwich*, "To bring the Prince from thence to *London*"; but they found the King whom they did not expect there, and so thought it not requisite to perform that Command. This Extravagancy proceeded from an Information they pretended to have received from a Member of the House.

There was one *Griffith*, a young Welsh-man, eminent for nothing but an extraordinary Licence, who with great Boldness had long follow'd the Court in hopes of Preferment there, and so had always opposed in the House, as far as in dissenting he could, all the undutiful Acts towards the King, presuming upon which he more confidently press'd for a Reward, and openly importuned the Queen, as she was ready to embark at *Dover*, to intercede with the King, "That he might be of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; which her Majesty refusing, he told his Companions, "That since he could not make himself considerable by serving the King, he would in disserving him: And so posting away to *London*, he told the House openly, (the very Day the Prince was to go to *Greenwich*) "That if some speedy Care was not taken they should lose the Prince, whom to his Knowledge there was a Design to carry into *France*. This ridiculous Information fix'd him in their Favour; and from thenceforth he was taken into Trust, and like their Bravo justified all their Extravagancies in Taverns and Ordinaries, having Malice enough to supply all other Defects. I saw Mr. *Hambden*, shortly after this, embrace him, telling him, "His Soul rejoiced to see, that God had inspired him to take the right Way.

As

As to their Message the King reply'd, " He knew  
 " not what Answer to give their Fears and Jealou-  
 " sies, as not being able to imagin what Grounds  
 " they had for 'em, but he desired they would di-  
 " ligently examin whatever Information they had  
 " receiv'd, which gave occasion to those Apprehen-  
 " sions, and then he hoped they would for the fu-  
 " ture have no other Fears or Jealousies, but what  
 " bore a Relation to his Majesty's Rights and Ho-  
 " nour.

The Queen being gone, and the Prince with his  
 Father at *Greenwich*, the King sent them an Answer  
 concerning the Militia, " That upon a careful Pe-  
 " rusal of what had been sent him from both Houses  
 " for the Ordering the Militia to be made an Ordinance  
 " of Parliament by giving the Royal Assent  
 " as for many Reasons he could not agree to it, for  
 " he thought himself obliged by no Promise he had  
 " given in his Answer to their former Petition. He  
 " said, he had great Reason to except against the  
 " Preamble of that Ordinance, which confessed a  
 " late desperate Design upon the House of Com-  
 " mons, supposed to be fomented by the bloody  
 " Counsels of Papists, and other disaffected Persons  
 " which (considering other printed Papers to that  
 " purpose) might be understood of his Coming to  
 " the House on the fourth of *January*, which cre-  
 " ated so unhappy a Misunderstanding between him  
 " and his People. And for that, tho' he believ'd it  
 " upon the Information he had since receiv'd, to be  
 " a Breach of their Privileges, and had offer'd, and  
 " was willing to repair the same for the future, by  
 " any Act they could desire of him; yet he must  
 " declare, and require to be believ'd, that all the  
 " Design he had upon that House, or any Member  
 " of it, was only to require, as he did, the Persons  
 " of those five Gentlemen he had before accused of  
 " High



High-Treason, and to declare that he intended to proceed against 'em in a legal way, upon which he thought that House would have delivered them.

"He called God to witness, he was so far from any Thought of Force or Violence, tho' that House had not deliver'd 'em upon his Demand, that he expressly charged his Servants, and others that then waited upon his Majesty, to give no Offence to any Man, nor return it if it should be offered. And therefore he hoped the Parliament would be too tender of his Honour, to impute the rash indiscreet Expressions of any young Men in his Train to him, or the desperate Words of others, who without his Consent or Approbation mingled with them.

"For the Persons named to be the Lieutenants of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, he said, he was willing to admit of that Recommendation; only he thought it inconsistent with Justice or Policy, to alter the Government, in that Particular, of *London*, and such other Corporations, as by ancient Charters had the Power of the Militia granted to them. To the rest he was willing to grant such Commissions, as he had done this Parliament to some Lords Lieutenants by their Advice. But if that Power was not sufficient, but that those Persons named must have more than by the Law is in the Crown it self, he thought it requisite some Law should first be made to vest it in him, with Power to transfer it to those Persons, which he would readily do; and to avoid all future Disputes, he desired that Power, whatever it should be, might rather be digested into an Act of Parliament than an Ordinance; to the intent that all his Subjects, being acquainted with what they were to do, and how they were to suffer for  
"their

“their Neglect, less room might be left for ’em to  
“be oppress’d by any Arbitrary Power whatever.

“To the Time ask’d for the Continuance of the  
“Powers, he said, he could not divest himself of  
“that just Power, which God and the Laws of the  
“Land had committed to him for the Defence of  
“his People, and place it in the Hands of others for  
“an indefinite Time. And since the ground of their  
“Request to him was to remove their present Fears  
“and Jealousies, that they might with Security con-  
“sider his Message of the 20th of *January*, he  
“hop’d, that as since that time he had condescen-  
“ded to so many of their Desires, and allow’d of  
“the Persons now recommended to him, and the  
“Power before express’d to be vested in ’em; they  
“would now wholly lay aside those Fears and Je-  
“alousies. And he declared, that as he had applic’d  
“this unusual Remedy to their Doubts, so if he  
“saw Cause, he would prolong the same to such  
“time, as should be answerable to the Care he now  
“express’d towards ’em.

“He said, he was so far from starting from any  
“thing contain’d in his former Answer, that he had  
“hereby agreed to all that had been desired of him  
“concerning the Militia, except that of *London*, and  
“other Corporations; and he doubted not but when  
“they had well weigh’d the Particulars of that his  
“Answer, they would find the same more condu-  
“cing to the Peace and Safety of all his good Sub-  
“jects, than the Way propos’d by their intended  
“Ordinance.

“And whereas he observ’d by their Petition some  
“Persons had already presumed to intermeddle with  
“the Militia, he said, he expected his Parliament  
“should enquire into the Particulars thereof, it be-  
“ing a Matter of a weighty Concern, and the last  
“Consequence; and he required, that if it should

appear any Person whatever had been so bold, as to command the Militia without lawful Authority, they might be proceeded against according to Law.

It seems this was not the Answer they expected, <sup>Votes of both Houses upon it.</sup> or at the Publishing it they were strangely transported, and both Houses presently voted, "That whoever had advised his Majesty to give that Answer, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. That if his Majesty should persist in that Denial, it would endanger the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, unless the Wisdom and Authority of the Parliament did apply some speedy Remedies to prevent it. That such Parts of the Kingdom, as had already put themselves in a Posture of Defence, had done nothing but what was justifiable, and approved by both Houses. These, and such other Resolutions, being immediately publish'd, that their Friends abroad might know what they were to do; they dispatch a Committee of both Houses with another Petition to the King at *Theobalds*, telling him, "His unexpected Denial had much increased the Apprehensions they lay under, of the publick Miseries and Calamities like to befall his Majesty and the Kingdom: And that they were highly griev'd at the Power, wicked and mischievous Counsellors still had over him, in that time of approaching Ruin. That they were forced in all Humility to protest, that if his Majesty should persist in his Refusal, the Distempers of the Kingdom were such, as they would endure no longer Delay, but that they must be obliged, for the Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, to dispose of the Militia in such a Manner as had been presented to him, and that they resolv'd to do it accordingly.

X

"They



" They likewise humbly begg'd his Majesty to  
 " believe, that the desperate Design upon the House  
 " of Commons, mentioned in the Introduction, was  
 " not inserted with an Intent to throw the least  
 " Aspersions upon his Majesty, but to reflect upon  
 " that malignant Party, from whose bloody Practices  
 " they could never be secure, unless his Majesty  
 " would remove from him those wicked treacherous  
 " Counsellors, who interposed between his Majesty's  
 " Goodness and Wisdom, and the Peace and Happiness  
 " of himself and his People: And that he  
 " would be pleased to reside near *London*, and his  
 " Parliament, which would further the Dispatch of  
 " the great Affairs of the Kingdom, contribute to  
 " his own Safety, and the Protection and Comfort of  
 " his Subjects. That he would likewise be pleased  
 " to continue the Prince in those Parts, where  
 " the Designs the Enemies of the Peace and Religion  
 " of the Kingdom might have upon his Person would  
 " be defeated, and the Fears and Jealousies of his  
 " Subjects be removed.

" And they begg'd Leave to inform him, that  
 " by the Laws of the Land, the Power of the Militia  
 " could not be granted to any Corporation by  
 " Charter or otherwise, without the Concurrence  
 " of the Parliament; and that they who had put  
 " themselves in a posture of Defence against the common  
 " Danger, had therein concurr'd with the Declaration  
 " and Direction of both Houses, and were  
 " justifiable by Law. And this their most humble  
 " Counsel and Advice they beseech him to accept of,  
 " as a Token of their Duty and Allegiance, which  
 " resign'd 'em entirely up to all such Thoughts,  
 " Intentions and Desires, as were necessary and conducive  
 " to his Greatness and Honour, and the Safety  
 " and Prosperity of the Kingdom, and which was  
 " agree

agreeable to that Trust and Power the Law had reposed in 'em.

This Petition was no sooner read, than the King <sup>The King's present Answer.</sup> told them who presented it, "That he was so much surpris'd at their Message, that he knew not what Answer to make it. He said, they insisted upon Fears and Jealousies, but he desired them to ask their own Consciences if he had not his Share of 'em too, and if so, he assured 'em that Message had in no wise lessened them.

"For the Militia, he said, he had so well consider'd it before he sent his Answer, and that Answer was so agreeable to what in Justice or Reason they could expect, or he in Honour grant, that he could not vary from it in any Point.

"For his Residence near them, he bid 'em ask themselves, if he had no Reason for his Absence. And assured them, he should take such Care of his Son, as he should be able to answer to himself as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King. To conclude, he declared all his Thoughts tended to Peace and Justice, which by all fair Means he would endeavour to cherish, resigning himself to the Goodness and Providence of God, for the Preservation of himself and his Rights.

The sudden and unusual Briskness with which this was deliver'd very much surpriz'd 'em, but they were got too far to retreat; and therefore the House, immediately upon the Report of it, resolv'd upon a Debate, "That the Kingdom should forthwith be put into a Posture of Defence; and a Declaration sent to the King, containing the just Grounds of their Fears and Jealousies, and to make it appear there was no Reason to entertain any against them: Ordering at the same time, "That all the Lords Lieutenants in *England*, whose Commissions were granted from the King under the Great Seal,

“ should immediately bring ’em in to be cancell’d as  
 “ illegal: Tho’ some such Commissions had been if-  
 sued out at their own Desire since this Parliament,  
 for instance, to the Earl of *Essex* for *Yorkshire*, and  
 the Earl of *Salisbury* for *Dorsetshire*.

*They order  
 the Earl of  
 Northum-  
 berland to  
 provide a  
 Fleet.*

Then both Houses sent a Message to the High-  
 Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Northumberland*,  
 importing, “ That they had been advertis’d of ex-  
 “ traordinary Preparations made by neighbouring  
 “ Princes both by Sea and Land, which gave both  
 “ Houses reason to apprehend the Publick Peace  
 “ Honour and Safety of his Majesty and his Domi-  
 “ nions could not be secure, unless a timely Care  
 “ was taken for putting the Kingdom in a conditio  
 “ of Defence, as well by Sea as by Land; and there-  
 “ fore order’d him to give forthwith effectual Di-  
 “ rections for the equipping all his Majesty’s Ships  
 “ that they might at a short Warning be fit for Sea  
 “ And that his Lordship would signifie, to all Ma-  
 “ sters and Owners of other Ships as might be of  
 “ use for the Publick Defence, that they would do  
 “ a grateful Piece of Service to the King and Parli-  
 “ ament, if they would likewise put their Ships  
 “ such a readiness, that they might be fit to put to  
 “ Sea upon any emergent Occasion. To which  
 the Earl return’d a very submissive, obedient An-  
 swer.

I have been assured by Persons very intimate  
 those Counsels, that they had it under Deliberation  
 to send and force the Prince from his Father at *Thur-*  
*obalds*; but that Design was quickly quitted, upon  
 Intimation that the King was removed from thence  
 to *New-market*, and was like to take a further Pro-  
 gress.

*Their De-  
 claration to  
 his Majesty.*

They therefore quickened their Declaration, which  
 they sent his Majesty, telling him, “ That tho’ the  
 “ had just Cause of Sorrow for his Answer to the

“ Petition



"Petition at *Theobalds*, yet it was not without some Alloy of Confidence and Hope, considering it was founded upon a Misapprehension of their Actions and Intentions; which being groundless, wou'd easily be removed, when he shou'd be fully inform'd; that their Fears and Jealousies, which his Majesty thought to be vain and unreasonable, were the natural Result of those Dangers and Distractions, the wicked Councils about his Majesty had brought upon the Kingdom. And that those other Fears and Jealousies, which had made him withdraw his Favour and Royal Presence from his Parliament, were founded upon no Action or Mis-carriage of theirs; but were owing purely to the Artifice of those, who for the Support and Encouragement of their own wicked Designs, fought to divest his Majesty of the Strength and Affection of his People, and them of his Grace and Protection, and thereby expose 'em to inevitable Destruction.

"That to satisfy his Majesty's Judgment and Conscience in both those Points, they desired to declare themselves clearly in some Particulars.

I. "That the Design of altering Religion, had been industriously carried on for many Years together by those of great Power about him; and that the Queen's Agent at *Rome*, and the Pope's Nuncio here, were not only Instances of that Design, but Parties in it.

II. "That the War in *Scotland* was design'd to promote it, being chiefly fomented by *Papists*, and others Popishly affected, as it appeared by their large Contributions to it.

III. "That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed here in *England*; and that they had certain Intelligence from *Ireland*, that the *English Papists* shou'd have risen about the same time; and that it was

“commonly said among the Rebels (which was sup-  
 “ported by other Evidences, as the Information of  
 “a Minister who came from *Ireland*, *Tristram Whet-*  
 “*comb*’s Letter from *Ireland* to his Brother in *Eng-*  
 “*land*, and many others) that they would recover  
 “to his Majesty his Royal Prerogative, extorted  
 “from him by the Puritan Faction in the Parliament,  
 “and support Episcopacy, and the Legality thereof,  
 “which, they said, were the two Points were to have  
 “incensed the late Army in the *North* against ’em.

IV. “The Cause they had to doubt the late De-  
 “sign, term’d the Queen’s pious Intention, was to  
 “alter Religion in this Kingdom, for the good Suc-  
 “cess whereof, the Pope’s Nuncio, *Rozetti*, enjoined  
 “the *English Papists* to fast and pray every Week;  
 “which an Original Letter, directed by the Nun-  
 “cio to a Priest in *Lancashire*, made appear to  
 “them.

V. “The Insolence of the *Irish* Rebels, in reporting  
 “what they did was by the King’s Authority; that  
 “they style themselves the Queen’s Army, and stamp  
 “their Booty taken from the *English* with her Ma-  
 “jesty’s Mark; that their Design was to come into  
 “*England*, as soon as they had done their Business  
 “in *Ireland*; which, with several other things of the  
 “same Nature, they said, was proved to ’em by one  
 “*Oconelly*, and others, especially in the Letter before  
 “mentioned from *Tristram Whetcomb*, wherein there  
 “was this Passage, That they utter’d many other  
 “Speeches concerning Religion, and our Court of  
 “*England*, which he dared not commit to Paper.

VI. “The many Attempts to Poison his own and  
 “the *Scottish* Army, and raise a Faction in the City  
 “of *London*, and other Parts of the Kingdom. That  
 “the Actors in those Affairs depended upon, and  
 “were encouraged by the Court; witness the Trea-  
 “son, whereof Mr. *Fermyn* and others stood accu-  
 “sed,

“sed, who had a Warrant under his Majesty’s own  
“Hand to go beyond Sea, after he had given the  
“Parliament a Promise to the contrary. And that  
“dangerous Petition his Majesty delivered with his  
“own Hand to Captain *Leg*, signed with *G. R.*

VII. “The false and dangerous Accusation a-  
“gainst the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Commons,  
“by his own Command tender’d to the Parliament,  
“by his own Persuasion justified in the City, and  
“endeavour’d to be executed upon their Persons by  
“his Demand of them in the House of Commons,  
“after so furious a Manner, not to be equalled by  
“any former Breaches of their Privileges, either by  
“himself, or any of his Predecessors: And they ad-  
“ded, however well disposed he was himself, those  
“who attended him discovered their barbarous In-  
“tentions to have massacred the Members of the  
“House, if by God’s Providence the Absence of  
“the Persons accused had not prevented the *Word*  
“being given. The lifting Officers and Soldiers to  
“guard *Whitehal*, and the like.

VIII. “After the House of Commons had de-  
“clared by their Vote, that the Lord *Digby* had ap-  
“peared in a warlike Manner at *Kingston upon Thames*,  
“to the great Terror of his Majesty’s good Subjects,  
“his Majesty should nevertheless send him away  
“with his own Warrant to Sir *John Pennington*, to  
“transport him beyond Sea; from whence he pub-  
“lish’d his own traiterous Conceptions, that his Ma-  
“jesty should retire to some fortified Place, as if he  
“was not safe among his People; which dangerous  
“Counsels they had too much Reason to fear pre-  
“vailed too much with his Majesty, since he was  
“pleased thus to absent himself from his Parliament,  
“and take the Prince with him; which look’d as if  
“his Majesty intended to be in a Readiness to  
“act it.



IX. "That the many Advertisements they had  
 "received from *Rome, Paris, Venice*, and other Parts,  
 "made 'em apprehend his Majesty designed the Al-  
 "teration of Religion, and the Destruction of his  
 "Parliament. That the Pope's Nuncio had sollici-  
 "ted the two Kings of *France* and *Spain* for 4000  
 "Men each, to help support his Royalty against the  
 "Parliament; and they said, as that was the most  
 "mischievous Design of all the rest, so they hoped  
 "his Majesty had an Abhorrence of it, because if  
 "he once gave up his People and Kingdom to be  
 "spoiled by Foreigners, it would be evident he then  
 "intended to change both his own and the publick Pro-  
 "fession of Religion in the Nation, the better to en-  
 "dear himself to *Popish* Princes, and be assured of  
 "their Assistance and Defence.

"These, they said, were some of the Grounds of  
 "their Fears and Jealousies, which had made 'em  
 "in all Humility and Submission earnestly implore  
 "his Royal Authority and Protection, for their  
 "Safety and Defence; which his Majesty, seduced  
 "by wicked Counsel, having denied, they apply'd  
 "themselves to the Exercise of that Power, for the  
 "Security of his own Person, and his Kingdoms,  
 "which by the fundamental Laws of the Land was  
 "vested in 'em; yet still resolving to contain them-  
 "selves within the Bounds of Fidelity and Allegi-  
 "ance to his sacred Person and Crown.

"To the Fears and Jealousies which his Majesty  
 "express'd, when he said, he wish'd his Residence  
 "near his Parliament might be with so much Safe-  
 "ty and Honour to his Person, that he had no Rea-  
 "son to absent himself from *Whitehal*: That, they  
 "said, was the greatest Breach of Privilege, the se-  
 "verest Misery to himself, and Reflection upon them,  
 "that could be imagined; it destroyed the firmest  
 "Foundation of the Safety and Honour the Crown

"af.

“afforded; it seem’d to charge ’em with what was  
 “altogether inconsistent with the Nature of that  
 “great Council; and struck at the very Being both  
 “of the King and Parliament, depriving his Ma-  
 “jesty in his own Thoughts of their Loyalty,  
 “and them of his Protection, which are the essen-  
 “tial Supports of Government and Subjection.

“They said, they had, according to his Majesty’s  
 “Desire, strictly examined into their own Consciences,  
 “and found nothing cou’d in the least provoke his  
 “Majesty to this Absence. They entreated his Ma-  
 “jesty to consider what Condition he was in, how  
 “plain the Way to Honour, Happiness, Greatness,  
 “and Security lay before him, if he wou’d co-ope-  
 “rate with his Parliament in the Defence of the  
 “Religion and Common Welfare of the Kingdom.  
 “But they said, they could not build their Securi-  
 “ty upon Words, for they could not but remem-  
 “ber what gracious Messages they received from  
 “him last Summer, even whilst he was privy to  
 “the Business of the Army then in Agitation, and  
 “two Days before the Accusation of the Members,  
 “and his coming to the House, he had assured ’em  
 “he wou’d be as tender of their Privileges, as of his  
 “own Prerogative, and have as much Regard to the  
 “Safety of their Persons, as that of his own Chil-  
 “dren.

“They said, if he wou’d give ’em an Assurance  
 “his whole Thoughts were upon Peace, they ex-  
 “pected he shou’d gratifie ’em with those Things,  
 “which the present State of the Kingdom urged ’em  
 “to desire. And in the first place he would ba-  
 “nish from him his wicked Counsellors, and con-  
 “tinue to reside near *London* and his Parliament,  
 “which wou’d be a happy Omen of a mutual Con-  
 “fidence between him and his People, and be at-  
 “tended with the Blessings of Honour and Great-  
 ness

“nefs to his Majesty, and Safety and Prosperity to  
“themselves.

When this Declaration, the like whereof was never known before in Parliament, was debated, the prevailing Party behaved themselves with that Pride and Impetuosity, that they would suffer no Opposition in Dispute, in so much as they committed Sir *Ralph Hopton* to the Tower, for objecting against some Expressions in it, as unworthy the Reverence they ought to use to the King; and for saying upon the Clause, in which they made Mention of their general Intelligence from *Rome, Paris, Venice*, and other Places, “That they grounded their  
“Opinion of the King’s Apostacy upon weaker Presumptions, than would serve to hang a Fellow for  
“stealing a Horse.

But their Carriage was so notoriously terrible in this Particular, of oppressing all who were not of the same Opinion with themselves, that Mr. *Trelawne*, a Member of the House of Commons, and a very substantial Merchant, was turned out of the House, and thrown into Prison, for having said in some private Conversation with a Friend in the City, “That the House cou’d not appoint a Guard for  
“themselves without the King’s Consent, under Pain  
“of High-Treason; which a Fellow, who pretended to over-hear it, was brought to prove, when the Person himself, to whom the Discourse was made, declared, “That he said, It might be imputed to  
“’em for High-Treason: And afterwards, in Pursuance of their Dislike, when the War began to break out, they again committed this honest Gentleman, seized upon all his Estate, and suffer’d him to perish in Prison for Want of common Relief.

And in this very Time we are now speaking of, when the Business of the Militia was in high Agitation, whilst Petitions were every Day sent ’em  
from



from the City of *London*, and most other Parts of the Kingdom, to desire they might be put in a Posture of Defence, the most substantial Citizens of *London* finding the Militia, with which the Lord Mayor had always been entrusted, was to be committed to a Parcel of factious Fellows of no Fortune or Reputation, resolved to Petition both Houses, not to alter the Original Constitution and Right of their City. Of this the House had Notice, and term'd it a second Conspiracy and Plot against the Parliament; and having by the Treachery of one of their own Members, got the Petition, which was signed by some Hundreds, and wou'd very likely in a few Days have been subscribed by all or most of the substantial Men of the City, they sent for, examined; and imprisoned divers of them; and gave Order to prepare a Charge and Impeachment against the Recorder of *London*, because they heard he had been of Council in the framing it. So when the chief Gentlemen of *Oxfordshire* heard a Petition had been presented to the House in their Names, against the settled Government of the Church, and for the Exercise of the Militia, they met together to prepare a Petition, disowning the former, and to desire, "The establish'd Laws might be observed; of which the Lord *Say* having Intimation, he got the chief Gentlemen to be summon'd up as Delinquents, and so stifled that Address. And this was the Method of their Justice in several other Instances of the like Nature; encouraging all factious, seditious Petitions, and reprimanding all such as desired the Continuance and Vindication of the so long celebrated and happy Government in Church and State; the prime Leaders of that Faction not being ashamed to maintain in their publick Debates, That no Man ought to Petition for the Government establish'd by Law, because he had his Wish

"al-

“ already; but they who desired an Alteration, had  
 “ no other way to make their Desires known; and  
 were therefore to be countenanced.

The Committee that presented the Declaration to  
 his Majesty at *New-market*, presented likewise addi-  
 tional Reasons, as they were pleas'd to term them  
 for his Majesty's Return and Residence near the Par-  
 liament, as a Matter of the highest Consequence to  
 himself, and his Kingdom.

“ They could not think they had done their Du-  
 “ ties in the bare Expression of their Desires, unless  
 “ they supported it with some further Reasons: 1. His  
 “ Majesty's Absence would make Men believe 'twas  
 “ with an Intent to discourage Undertakers, and hin-  
 “ der raising the Provisions for the Defence of *Ire-*  
 “ *land*. 2. The Rebels there, and all the disaffec-  
 “ ted Party here at home, would be very much  
 “ encouraged by so effectual an Evidence of the Mis-  
 “ understanding between his Majesty and his People.  
 “ 3. That it would very much weaken the Subject's  
 “ Love to his Majesty, which being withdrawn,  
 “ Prince lies exposed to all imaginable Dangers and  
 “ Calamities. 4. It would encourage our Enemies  
 “ abroad, to execute their Designs and Intentions  
 “ towards us. 5. That it much hinder'd the Pro-  
 “ ceedings of Parliament. These Considerations  
 “ they said, threatned his Person and Dominion  
 “ with such great Dangers, that they thought them-  
 “ selves obliged to represent to him this their Lo-  
 “ al Advice, that so they might stand excused be-  
 “ fore God and Man, let what will happen.

Whilst this Declaration was reading, his Majesty  
 seem'd highly to resent some particular Expressions  
 when that Passage was read, that takes notice “  
 “ Mr. *Fermyn*'s being transported by his Majesty's  
 “ own Warrant, after he had promised the House  
 “ none of his Servants should depart from Court.

interrupted the Earl of *Holland*, who was reading and said, "That's false; and when they reply'd, It related not to the Date but the Execution of the Warrant, his Majesty answer'd, "It might have been better express'd then, 'tis a high thing to tax a King with Breach of Promise. But both the Declaration and Reasons being read, the King after a short Pause told 'em.

"I am confident you don't expect from me a speedy Answer to this strange, unexpected Declaration; and I am sorry, in this Distraction of the Kingdom, you should approve this way of Address, sooner than that I propos'd by my Message to both Houses the 20th of *January* last. I'll take time to answer the Grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, to the Satisfaction, I doubt not, of the whole World. God, I hope, in his good time, will reveal the Secrets and Bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, and then I shall stand right in the Eyes of all my People. In the mean time I must tell you, I rather expected to be acquitted of the Imputation laid upon me in Mr. *Pym's* Speech, than that any more general Rumors and Discourses should find Credit with you. I did not think my Fears and Doubts would have been thought groundless and trivial, whilst so many seditious Sermons and Pamphlets are encouraged, and so many Tumults are remember'd unpunish'd and uninquired into. I still avow my Fears, and call God to witness, they are greater for the true Protestant Profession, my People and Laws, than my own Rights and Safety; tho' I must tell you, I believe none of these are free from Danger. What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, or deny'd to pass one Bill for the Ease and Safety of my Subjects? I don't ask what you have done for me. Are my People transported with Fears and Apprehensions?



"pensions? I have offer'd as free and absolute a Pardon  
 "as your selves can devise. There is a Judgment  
 "from Heaven upon this Nation, if these Distracti-  
 "ons continue. God so deal with me and mine, as  
 "all my Thoughts and Intentions are upright for  
 "the Maintenance of the true Protestant Profession,  
 "and the Preservation of the Laws of the Land:  
 "Which Laws I hope God will bless, and assist for  
 "my Preservation.

This being spoken on a sudden, and with some  
 Passion, and his Majesty demanding a longer time to  
 answer the Declaration, the Committee desired  
 "Since that was all the Answer they were like to car-  
 "ry back, that they might have it in Writing, which  
 was given them the next Morning: And then the  
 Earl of *Holland* besought him again to reside nearer  
 his Parliament, to which the King answer'd in short  
 "I would you had given me Encouragement, but  
 "I am certain this Declaration is not the way to it.  
 Then the Earl of *Pembroke* asking, if the Militia  
 might be granted for a Time, as was desired by the  
 Parliament? He answer'd, "By God, not for an  
 "Hour. 'Tis what was never ask'd of a King be-  
 "fore, and with what I will not trust my Wife and  
 "Children. He told them, he could not have be-  
 "liev'd the Parliament would have sent him such a  
 "Declaration, if he had not seen it brought by such  
 "Persons: He said, he was sorry for the Parliament  
 "but glad he had it, for by that he doubted not  
 "to satisfy his People. He said, they talk'd of  
 "Councils, but he was sure they had worse Infor-  
 "mation than he had Council. He told 'em, four  
 "hundred would never do the Business of *Ireland*.  
 "it must be put into the Hands of One, and if he  
 "were trusted with it, he would pawn his Head to  
 "end that Work.

The Committee hereupon return'd, and reported the Answer they had received, and the Temper and Disposition they found his Majesty in.

Upon this they order'd their Declaration to be printed, and carefully dispersed abroad, to the end the World might see upon what Terms they stood; and all possible Care was taken to infect the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, and suppress all those who express'd the least Dislike to their High Proceedings.

And that they might be as absolute at Sea as they were at Land, they order'd the Lord High-Admiral to send 'em the Names of those Captains who were to be employed that Summer, to the end they might be served by such, in whom they could confide; which his Lordship punctually observed. By which they rid his Hands of those Officers he could not justly have discharg'd, and struck out the Names of all those they thought they could not be secure

The King, according to his former Resolution, of which few were acquainted, thought it time now to remove to *York*, which was a Place fit to receive those, who were willing to attend him; and to the end publick Notice might be given of it, he sent a Message from *Huntington* to both Houses, "That being then removing to his City of *York*, where he intended to reside for some time, he thought fit by that Message very earnestly to desire them to forward with all Diligence the Business of *Ireland*, in which his Majesty would concur so cheerfully, that his Absence should be no Prejudice to that Service, having a passionate Desire for the Reduction of that Kingdom, and done whatever Acts had been moved to him by his Parliament thereunto. Therefore if the Calamities of his poor Protestant Subjects there encreased upon 'em,

The King's  
Message to  
both Houses  
in his way  
to York.

" he

“ he said, he should wash his Hands from the least  
 “ Imputation of Remissness in so necessary and pious  
 “ a Work. And that he might leave no way unat-  
 “ tempted, which might beget a good Understand-  
 “ ing between him and his Parliament, he said, he  
 “ thought it requisite to declare, that as he had been  
 “ so tender of the Privileges of Parliament, that he  
 “ had been ready to retract any Act of his, which  
 “ he had been informed encroached upon their Pri-  
 “ vilges; so he expected them to be equally tender  
 “ of his known Prerogatives, amongst which this  
 “ was a fundamental one, that his Subjects could  
 “ not be obliged to obey any Act or Injunction,  
 “ which was not authorized by his Consent: And  
 “ therefore he thought fit to publish, that he ex-  
 “ pected, and thereby required Obedience from all  
 “ his loving Subjects to the Laws established; and  
 “ that they presumed not upon any Pretence of Or-  
 “ der or Ordinance, to which his Majesty was no  
 “ Party, to do any thing relating to the Militia  
 “ which was not warrantable by those Laws; he  
 “ being resolved to observe the Laws himself, and  
 “ exact Obedience to ’em from all his Subjects.

“ He once more reminded ’em of his Message of  
 “ the 20th of *January* last, that they would with  
 “ all speed prepare such Acts as they should judge  
 “ necessary, for the present and future Establishment  
 “ of their Privileges, the free and peaceful Enjoy-  
 “ ment of their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties  
 “ of their Persons, the Preservation of the true Re-  
 “ ligion, as it was then profess’d in the Church of  
 “ *England*, the maintaining his Regal, Lawful Au-  
 “ thority, and settling his Revenue, he being most  
 “ desirous of taking all just and proper ways, which  
 “ might create a good Understanding between him  
 “ and his Parliament, in which he conceived his  
 “ chief Power and Riches did consist.

This



This Message put the Houses into more Rage and Choler than I had ever known 'em to be in. They had voted, and resolved the Day before, " That it was in no wise against the Oath of Allegiance, that all Commissions under the Great Seal to Lieutenants were void; and that whosoever should execute any Power over the Militia, by vertue of any Commission of Lieutenancy, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, should be reputed an Enemy to the Peace of the Kingdom. Then they agreed upon this Proposition, That the Kingdom of late had been and still was under such imminent Danger from Enemies abroad, and a Popish discontented Party at home, that there was an unavoidable Necessity of putting it in a posture of Defence, for the Security of his Majesty and his People. That the Lords and Commons, bound in Duty to provide a suitable Prevention; had in several Petitions address'd his Majesty for the disposing the Militia in such a way, as was agreed upon by the Wisdom of both Houses to be most proper for the present State of the Kingdom; to which his Majesty had several times refused his Royal Assent. Upon this Proposition they resolv'd, " That at a time of such extream Danger, and upon his Majesty's Refusal, the People ought, by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, to obey the Ordinance of both Houses concerning the Militia, and that such Persons, as should be appointed Deputy Lieutenants, and be approved of by both Houses, should receive their Commands, and enter upon the Execution of their Offices. These Resolutions were order'd the same Night to be Printed and Publish'd; so that when the King's Message, which was read the next Morning, seem'd to be against 'em, they agreed " it could not come from the King, but had been inserted

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“serted in Blanks left in Town for that purpose and immediately appointed a Committee “to find out by whom that Message had been framed. But when they recollected, they had voted as much the Week before, and the Gentlemen who brought it had upon Examination declared they had receiv’d it from the King’s own Hand, they relinquisht the Inquisition; and satisfied themselves with a new Vote, “That those who had advised his Majesty to absent himself from his Parliament, and promote that Message, were Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and stood justly suspected of favouring the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And insisting upon the former Votes, they declared withal, “That when both Houses of Parliament, which is the supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have that not only disputed, but contradicted, and a Command published not to obey it, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

For this likewise they order’d a speedy Publication, lest his Majesty should be able to persuade his Subjects, that an Order of theirs without his Consent was not obligatory. This their last Resolution which resolv’d the Law of the Land, and consequently the Liberty of the Subject, into a Vote of the two Houses, which passed without any Opposition, gave all sober Men to understand the fatal Period both was at hand, and a Foundation laid for the Anarchy which followed.

The King’s removing to *York* made ’em be in pain for their Principality of *Hull*, and therefore they immediately resolve, “That no Forces whatsoever shall be admitted into that Town, without the immediate Consent of both Houses; and this Order they sent thither by an Express. And the People being now prepared for the Business of the

itia, and taught in case of extream Danger to obey their Ordinance, they were in the next place to find out that Extremity of Danger; to which end they produced Letters without any Name, pretended to be sent from *Amsterdam*, importing, "That there was an Army ready in *Denmark* to be transported into *England*, and to be landed at *Hull*; the Confirmation of which, they said, they had received from a Person of Reputation from *New-market*; adding, there were likewise Forces in *France* ready to be shipp'd off for *Hull*.

This, how gross and absurd soever it appeared to sober Men, was of a double Use to 'em; for it countenanc'd their Orders to their Governor there, and render'd the King's Residence in those Parts suspected. These Alarms of foreign Forces they aggravated with other Intelligence of the *Papists* in *England*, "That they design'd an Insurrection; and therefore they proceeded in preparing a Bill to secure those of the best Quality, and greatest Interest among 'em, injoining the Oath of Supremacy with the utmost Rigour. But in this their Zeal against the *Papists*, they would not admit the King to any share; and therefore when they heard his Majesty had issued out a Proclamation, commanding a due Execution of all the Laws against Popish Recusants, without any Favour or connivance, they immediately sent for the Sheriffs of *London*, and examined them in the House, "Why seven Priests, who were in *Newgate*, and had been long under a Condemnation, were not executed? the Reason of which they very well knew; and when the Sheriffs replied, "They had received a Reprieve for 'em under the King's Hand; they took great Care, by publishing it in Print, to weaken the Credit of the new Proclamation; and appointed those they were sending with a new Declaration to his Majesty, to move, "That the seven



“condemn’d Priests might be executed according to  
“the Judgments they had received.

They begun now diligently to collect whatever Sums of Mony had been granted by former Acts, and framed a new Bill for raising 400000 *l.* to pay the great Debts of the Kingdom, (by which they meant the Residue of the 300000 *l.* they had bountifully bestow’d on their Brethren of *Scotland*) and carry on the War of *Ireland*. Which Mony was to be receiv’d, and disburs’d, according to the Direction of the two Houses. And his Majesty, tho’ he foresaw the Danger that would naturally ensue thereupon, yet he thought the Mischiefs arising from thence would probably be less, than the Scandal of rejecting any thing relating to the Recovery of *Ireland*; and so he ratified whatever they offer’d him of that kind.

*They make  
Propositions for Ad-  
venturers  
in Ireland.*

Among other Projects for raising Mony about this Time, they had this way of encouraging Men to be Adventurers in that Traffick: They concluded, “That in so general a Rebellion much Land would  
“be forfeited to the Crown, and that those who  
“would disburse Mony towards the Suppression of  
“the Rebels, should be satisfied out of such For-  
“feitures. These Propositions, being agreed upon by both Houses, were presented to the King, at a time when the Breach of their Privileges rung in

*To which  
his Majesty  
consents.*

all Mens Ears; his Majesty therefore answer’d, “That  
“as he had always been ready to assist the Recove-  
“ry of that Kingdom at the Hazard of his own Per-  
“son, if he should be advised thereunto by his Par-  
“liament, so he was ready to part with any Profit  
“or Advantage of his own, that might contribute  
“to that Service; and therefore resigning himself  
“up to the Wisdom of his Parliament, he did con-  
“sent to every Proposition now made him, without  
“considering, whether that Course would not render  
“the

“the Rebels desperate, and so retard the Reduction of that Kingdom.

And added, “That he should be ready to give his Royal Assent to such Bills as should be brought him for the Confirmation of those Propositions.

This Answer, together with their Propositions, they order'd forthwith to be Printed: Their Committees in all Places solicited Subscriptions, the most active Subscribing first for the Encouragement of others. And they delay'd presenting the Bill to his Majesty, 'till they had rais'd great Sums of Money, and procur'd Persons of all Conditions to subscribe; many out of Covetousness to raise Fortunes, 300 Acres of Land in some Counties being set at 100 *l.* and not at much more in others; some out of pure Fear to ingratiate themselves with the powerful Party; which made this new Project the Standard of Men's Affections, and an Instance how far they might be relied on.

When these Propositions were digested into a Bill, *And passes a Bill to that Purpose.* with such Clauses as put it out of the King's Power to make any Peace with the Rebels, tho' upon the most advantageous Terms, they sent it his Majesty, who was likewise obliged to pass it.

These Matters thus agreed on, for the Ease of both Houses, they appointed the whole Business of *Ireland* to be managed by Commission under the Great Seal, and named four Lords and eight Commoners for that Province, whom they recommended to the King, and who were to receive their Instructions from none but themselves. In this Condition were the Affairs of *Ireland* when the King went to *York*, where let us now repair to him.

*The End of the Fourth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION  
ABRIDG'D.

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ISAIAH III. 12.

*As for my People, Children are their Oppressors, and Women rule over them: O my People! they will lead thee, cause thee to err, and destroy the Way of thy Paths.*

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BOOK V.

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**W**HEN the King, upon his coming to York, which was towards the End of 1641. found his Reception there to answer his Expectation, the great Men of that populous County appearing well pleas'd with his Majesty's Presence among 'em, and no less sensible of the insolent Proceedings of the Parliament; he resolv'd now to treat with the Houses in another Manner,



ner, and let 'em know, "That as he wou'd denie nothing became them to ask, so he wou'd condescend to nothing was unreasonable for him to grant, nor be hector'd out of any Thing he was not inclinable to yield to. So, after he had been there few Days, he sent them a Declaration, (which he order'd to be Printed, and recommended it in the Frontispiece to the Consideration of all his loving Subjects) in Answer to that he had received from them at *New-market*; and told them "That, tho' the Declaration presented him at *New-market*,<sup>His Majesty's Declaration from York.</sup> was of so strange a Nature, and some Expressions in it so different from the usual Language to Princes, that he might well take a longer Time to consider it; yet the Integrity of his Conscience to God, and Love to his Subjects, had supplied him with a speedy Answer, and his inviolable Affection to his People prevailed with him to stifle that Passion, which might well enough become him upon such Provocation.

"He said, he had review'd his Answer of the first of that Month at *Theobalds*, which was urged to have given such just Cause of Sorrow to his Subjects; but he said, Whoever examined that Message, (in which they told him in Effect, that he would not concur with them in a Act he conceived prejudicial to himself and the whole Kingdom, they wou'd make a Law without him, and impose it upon his People) would find no Exceptions to that sudden Answer. He said, he was little encouraged to Replies of that Nature, when he was told of how little Weight his Words were like to be with them, tho' accompanied with all the Actions of Love and Justice, (as often as there was Opportunity) yet he could not but disown his having, to his Knowledge, any such evil Council or Counsellors about him as they mentioned;

“and if any such should be discovered, he would  
 “resign ’em up to the Judgment of his Parliament.  
 “In the mean time he wish’d they wou’d not so rough-  
 “ly censure his own immediate Actions and Honour,  
 “under that common Stile of evil Counsellors. He  
 “said, as he wish’d out of the Innocency of his  
 “Soul, the Judgments of Heaven might be mani-  
 “fested upon those, who had any Design of al-  
 “tering Religion in this Kingdom, so he rather ex-  
 “pected an Acknowledgment of his Zeal for the  
 “Propagation of it, and the Oppression of Popery  
 “than those Expressions he met with in that Decla-  
 “ration.

“As for the *Scots* Troubles, he told ’em, he had  
 “thought those unhappy Differences had been bu-  
 “ried in perpetual Silence by the Act of Oblivion  
 “which being solemnly passed in the Parliaments of  
 “both Kingdoms, stopped his Mouth from any o-  
 “ther Reply, than to express his great Dislike of re-  
 “viving the Memory thereof.

“And if the detestable Rebellion in *Ireland* seem’d  
 “to receive any Encouragement from hence, he con-  
 “jured his Parliament, and all his loving Subjects  
 “whatsoever, to use all possible Means to discove-  
 “such, that he might join in the most exemplar  
 “Vengeance upon ’em that can be imagined. But  
 “he told ’em, he thought himself highly and un-  
 “justly injured in his Reputation, if any Decla-  
 “tion, Action, or Expression of the *Irish* Rebel-  
 “any Letter from *Rozetty* to the *Papists* for Fastin-  
 “and Praying, or from *Tristram Whetcomb*, of strang-  
 “Speeches utter’d in *Ireland*, should create any Mi-  
 “apprehensions in his Subjects, of his Justice, Pi-  
 “ty, and Affection; it being evident the Rebels chie-  
 “Advantage lay, in having their false Discourses  
 “far believed, as to distract this Kingdom with  
 “Fears and Jealousies, the only Way to their Sec-

“rit

“rity. He said, he had already express’d his deep  
“Sense of the Sufferings of his poor Protestant Sub-  
“jects in that Kingdom, having offer’d, as he still  
“was ready, to venture his Royal Person for their  
“Redemption, well knowing, that, as in his own  
“Interests he was more concern’d in them, so he  
“was highly answerable to Almighty God for any  
“Neglect of his Duty, or their Preservation.

“He cou’d not, without great Indignation, suf-  
“fer himself to be reproached with the least Inten-  
“tion of imposing a Force upon the Parliament, as  
“his being privy to the bringing up the Army must  
“imply. He called God to Witness, he never  
“was guilty of such a Thought, nor knew of any  
“such Resolution concerning his late Army. He  
“remember’d well the Petition shew’d him by Cap-  
“tain *Leg*, and the Occasion of his Conference with  
“him.

“His Majesty inquired of Captain *Leg*, who was  
“lately come from the *North*, concerning the State  
“of the Army; who, after some Discourse, told his  
“Majesty, that the Officers of the Army had a  
“Mind to Petition the Parliament, as others of his  
“Subjects had done, and shew’d him a Copy of a  
“Petition, which his Majesty, upon reading, found  
“to be very humble, and told him, he saw no Harm  
“in it; upon which Captain *Leg* replied, that he  
“thought Sir *Jacob Ashley* would be the only Per-  
“son unwilling to sign it, out of Fear it might dis-  
“please him. His Majesty then read the Petition  
“over again, and perceiving no possible Ground for  
“any just Cause of Offence, bid him give it  
“Sir *Jacob Ashley*, for whose Satisfaction he writ  
“C. R. upon it, in Token of his Approbation. He  
“wished the Petition might be seen and published, and  
“then, he believed, it would not appear such a dange-  
“rous



“rous one, nor a just Ground for the least Jealousie  
“or Suspicion.

“He said, it was well known Mr. *Fermyn* was gone  
“from *Whitehal*, before the Parliament had desired  
“him to restrain his Servants; nor did he return,  
“or pass over by any Warrant granted by him af-  
“ter that Time. For the Breach of Privilege,  
“in the Accufation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the  
“five Members, he told ’em he thought his several  
“Messages had given ’em such ample Satisfaction in  
“that Point, having made an Acknowledgment and  
“Retraction greater than ever King had given,  
“that he should have heard no more of it. He won-  
“der’d they should be so offended at his listing Of-  
“ficers at *Whitehal*, where the Tumults were so great,  
“their Demeanour so scandalous and seditious, that  
“he had good Grounds to apprehend his own Per-  
“son, and those of his Wife and Children, were in  
“Danger.

“For the Lord *Digby*, he assured ’em upon his  
“Royal Word, he had his Warrant to pass the Seas,  
“before ever he heard of the Vote of the House  
“of Commons, or had any Cause to imagine they  
“wou’d have excepted against his Absence. What  
“their Advertisements from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*,  
“or other Parts, were, what the Pope’s Nuncio sol-  
“licits the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to, by whom  
“they had been informed of it, and how narrowly they  
“had sifted into the Credit of that Information, he knew  
“not; but he was sure, no sober honest Man in his  
“Dominions was so desperate, as to think he wou’d listen  
“to any Designs that wou’d not only lay his Kingdom  
“in sudden Ruin and Destruction, but bury himself  
“and Posterity in eternal Scorn and Infamy. And  
“therefore he said, he cou’d have wish’d, in Mat-  
“ters of so high and tender a Nature, wherewith the  
“Minds

Minds of his good Subjects must needs be startled, all Expressions had been so plain and easie, that, since they thought fit to publish it, nothing might stick with them, that reflected upon his Majesty.

“And having thus plainly and freely answer’d the particular Grounds of their Fears, he hoped they would find ’em to be not of that Moment, as to beget and continue a Misunderstanding any longer between ’em, or force ’em to make Use of any other Power than what the Law had given ’em, which he always intended shou’d be the Measure of his own Power, and expected it shou’d be the Rule of his Subjects Obedience.

“As he had no Design of accusing them for his own Fears and Jealousies, so he was sure, nothing he had spoken at *Theobalds*, wou’d bear that Interpretation. He said, he had wish’d his Residence near them might be so much to his Safety and Honour, that he had no Cause to absent himself from *Whitehal*, but he cou’d not conceive how that cou’d be a Breach of Privilege of Parliament; he had explained his Meaning as to that Particular in his Answer to their Declaration at *New-market*, concerning the seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, and the great Tumults at *Whitehal* and *Westminster*; and he appealed to them and all the World, whether he might not justly suppose himself in Danger of either: And he ask’d, if he were now at *Whitehal*, what Security he had he should not again be exposed to the like.

“He asked them, if he had given them no other Security than Words, of his importunate Desires to join with his Parliament and all his loving Subjects, in the Defence of the Religion, and publick Good of the Kingdom. He told ’em, the Remonstrance of the very House of Commons (publish’d.

"lish'd in *November* last) valued his Acts of Grace  
 "and Justice at so high a Rate, that it declared  
 "the Kingdom to be then a Gainer, tho' it had  
 "charged it self with the Levy of 600000 *l.* besides  
 "a Debt of 200000 *l.* to his Subjects of *Scotland*.  
 "He asked them, if the Bills for Triennial Parlia-  
 "ments, for relinquishing his Title of imposing  
 "upon Merchandize, and Power of pressing of Sol-  
 "diers, for the abolishing the Star-Chamber, and  
 "High-Commission-Courts, and Regulation of the  
 "Council-Table, were no more than Words? If the  
 "Bills for the Forests, the Stanneries, the Clerk of  
 "the Market, and taking away the Votes of Bishops  
 "out of the Lords House, were but Words? Last-  
 "ly, what greater Earnest of his Trust and Reli-  
 "ance on his Parliament could be given, than the  
 "Bill for the Continuance of this present Parlia-  
 "ment? The Length of which, he hoped; wou'd ne-  
 "ver alter the Nature of Parliaments, or Constitu-  
 "tion of the Kingdom, or encourage his Subjects  
 "to abuse his Confidence, as to think any thing fit  
 "for this Parliament to do, which would not be fit  
 "if it were in his Power to dissolve it to Morrow.  
 "And after all, that there might be a true and per-  
 "fect Reconciliation establish'd between him and  
 "his People, as he had offer'd, so he was still re-  
 "dy to grant a free and general Pardon, in as am-  
 "ple a Manner as they themselves should propose.  
 "Now if these were not effectual Expressions of the  
 "Affections of his Soul for the publick Good, he  
 "said, he confessed he wanted Skill to manifest  
 "em.

To conclude, "Tho' he thought he had suffice-  
 "ently answer'd that Point concerning his Return  
 "to *London*, yet he declared, he thought it was of  
 "so great a Moment to the Affairs of the Kingdom  
 "that if all he could say or do, cou'd raise a mutu-



al Confidence, so that the Laws of the Land, and the Government of the City of *London*, might recover some for his Security, he wou'd overtake their Desires, and be with them sooner than they could wish. In the mean time he would take Care, neither the Affairs of *Ireland*, nor any Advantage for this Kingdom, should suffer through his Absence. He being so far from repenting those Acts of Justice and Grace he had already done for his People, that he was still ready to add such new ones, as were most conducive to the Peace, Honour, and Prosperity of the Nation.

They who read this Declaration, and compare it with the insolent and undutiful Expressions of that his was to answer, and the more insolent seditious Actions that preceeded, accompanied and attended, may think the Stile was not Majestical enough for such a Contest. But if we consider, to what a height of Reputation the factious Party was arrived, what Stratagems they used to persuade the People, that the King was disinclined to the Laws of the Land; that he had consented to the wholesome Laws, proposed by the Parliament, very unwillingly; that there was a Design to send the Prince abroad, and marry him to some *Papist*: Above all, that the *Irish* Rebellion was at least countenanced by the Queen, whose Power was unquestionable, and who was an irreconcilable Enemy to the profess'd Religion, and the whole Nation: I say, if we consider this, we may conclude, it became his Majesty by all Gentleness and Condescension, to deceive Men, and restore 'em to their Sobriety and Understanding, before they cou'd be awakened to their own Duty, or the Reverence that was due to him; and therefore that he must stoop to all Arts and Means to that Purpose; it being evident, Men would be no sooner sensible of his Princely Justice

justice and Clemency, than they must be offended at the Indignities which were offer'd him, and incens'd against those who were the Authors of them.

The Day before the Members at *Westminster* received this his Majesty's Answer, (which they speedily expected) lest somewhat in it might obviate and fore-stall some farther Scandals they had a mind to throw upon him, they sent him a Petition in the Name of both Houses, upon account of that extemporary Answer he gave their Committee, (as is mention'd before) upon the Delivery of their Declaration at *New-market*: In which they told him,

" They could not conceive that Declaration de-  
 " serv'd the Censure his Majesty was pleas'd to de-  
 " liver thereupon to their Committee, since they  
 " thought it more proper for the removing the Di-  
 " stractions of the Kingdom, than if they had con-  
 " curr'd with his Message of the 20th of *January*,  
 " in which he desired to know what they intended  
 " to do for his Majesty, and what they expected  
 " should be done for themselves: In both which  
 " his Majesty's Refusal to comply with their several  
 " Petitions relating to the Militia had very much  
 " hinder'd them. As for those seditious Pamphlets  
 " and Sermons, which gave occasion to his Maje-  
 " sty's Fears and Doubts, they said, as soon as they  
 " should understand what Pamphlets and Sermons  
 " were understood by his Majesty, they would give  
 " him all due Satisfaction therein. And as for the  
 " Tumult and Danger his Majesty apprehended  
 " from any extraordinary Concourse of People out  
 " of the City to *Westminster*, it was owing to his  
 " Majesty's refusing such a Guard to his Parliament  
 " as they might confide in; and his giving Cause of  
 " Jealousie to his Parliament, and Offence to his  
 " People, by entertaining such a Guard about his Per-  
 " son as he did at *Whitehal*. They told him, they

" were

“ were sorry they had such a copious Answer to that  
 “ Question, whether his Majesty had violated their  
 “ Laws. They besought him to remember, that  
 “ the Government of the Kingdom under him, ’till  
 “ the Beginning of this Parliament, consisted in con-  
 “ tinued Violations of the Laws, the Wounds where-  
 “ of were hardly healed, when the very worst of all  
 “ those Violations was far exceeded in the Accusati-  
 “ on of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members,  
 “ and the Proceedings thereupon, for which he had  
 “ not yet given them full Satisfaction.

“ To his Majesty’s next Question, If he had re-  
 “ jected any Bills design’d for the Ease and Securi-  
 “ ty of his Subjects? They wish’d Necessity did  
 “ not oblige ’em to answer, that even about the time  
 “ those Bills were pass’d, some Designs were in A-  
 “ gitation, which, if they had succeeded, would not  
 “ only have frustrated the Fruit of those Bills, but  
 “ left ’em in a worse Confusion than that wherein  
 “ the Parliament found them.

“ If his Majesty had ask’d them the third Que-  
 “ stion, what they had done for him, their An-  
 “ swer would have been much more easie; that they  
 “ had reliev’d the Kingdom from the Burden of two  
 “ Armies, and born the Charge of the *Irish* War,  
 “ at a time when other excessive Charges and Pres-  
 “ sures had exhausted his Subjects, and very much  
 “ diminished the Stock of the Kingdom; which  
 “ great Mischiefs, and the Expences that ensued  
 “ thereupon, proceeded from the evil Counsellors so  
 “ prevalent with his Majesty, which had and would  
 “ cost the Kingdom more than two Millions, which  
 “ his Majesty in Justice ought to have born.

“ As for the free and general Pardon his Majesty  
 “ was pleased to offer, they said it could be no Ease  
 “ to their Fears and Jealousies, since they were not  
 “ owing



“owing to any Guilt of their own Actions, but  
 “the wicked Attempts of others.

“To that their Humble Answer to that Speech,  
 “they desired to add an Information they had from  
 “*Rotterdam*, that an unknown Person belonging to  
 “the Lord *Digby*, did lately solicit one *James Hen-*  
 “*ly* a Mariner, to go to *Elenore*, and take Charge  
 “of a Ship in the King of *Denmark's* Fleet there  
 “prepared, which he should conduct to *Hull*; in  
 “which Fleet, they said, an Army was likewise to  
 “be transported. And tho' they were not inclina-  
 “ble to credit Informations of that Nature, yet it  
 “might justly add somewhat to the Weight of their  
 “Fears and Jealousies, considering the Circumstan-  
 “ces that accompanied it; the Lord *Digby's* pre-  
 “ceding Expressions in his Letters to her Majesty  
 “and Sir *Lewis Dives*, and his Majesty's retiring  
 “into the North, which they fear'd would make a  
 “deep Impression in the generality of his People;  
 “and therefore they besought his Majesty to return  
 “with all convenient Speed to these Parts, and close  
 “with his Parliament, who would give him not on-  
 “ly all just Grounds for his Confidence in their  
 “Faithfulness, but a Testimony of their sincere  
 “Desires to advance his Majesty's Service, Honour,  
 “and Contentment, and establish it upon the sure  
 “Foundations of the Peace and Prosperity of all his  
 “Kingdoms.

This, which they called a Petition, his Majesty  
 immediately answer'd to this Purpose.

“If you could patiently have expected our An-  
 “swer to your late Declaration, we believe you  
 “would have saved your selves the trouble of say-  
 “ing much of this Message. And we could wish  
 “our Privileges on all parts were so stated, that this  
 “way of Correspondency might be preserv'd with that  
 “Freedom, which hath been used of old; for we  
 “mult

must tell you, if you may ask any Thing of us by Message or Petition, and in what Language you think fit, and we must neither deny the Thing you ask, nor give a Reason why we cannot grant it, without being taxed of Breaking your Privileges, or being Counsell'd by those who are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Favourers of the *Irish* Rebellion, you will reduce all our Answers hereafter into a very short Compass: In plain English, it is to take away the Freedom of our Vote, which were we but a Subject were high Injustice, but being your King, we leave all the World to judge what it is.

“Is this the way to compose all Misunderstandings? We thought we showed you one by our Message of the 20th of *January*; if you have a better we shall willingly hearken to it. But why our Refusal to consent to your Order, which you term a Denial of the Militia, should be any Interruption to it, we can't understand. You ask it by way of Ordinance, and with such a Preface, as we can neither with Justice to our Honour or Innocency consent to. You exclude us from any Power in the Execution of it together with you, and for a Time utterly unlimited. We are extremely unsatisfied what an Ordinance is, but well satisfied without our Consent it is nothing, nor binding: And it is evident by the long Time spent in this Argument, the Necessity and Danger was not so imminent, but a Bill might have been prepared; which if it be yet done, with that due Regard to us, and Care of our People; we shall recede from nothing we formerly express'd in our Answer to your Order; otherwise we must declare, we never shall allow our Subjects to be bound by your Printed Votes of the 15th or 16th of this Month; or that under Pretence of declaring what Law is, you

Z

“should

“ should without us make a new Law, which is  
 “ plainly the Case of the Militia: And what is this,  
 “ but to introduce an Arbitrary Way of Govern-  
 “ ment?”

“ Concerning *Pym's* Speech, you have found, by  
 “ what the Lord *Compton* and Mr. *Baynton* brought  
 “ from us, in Answer to that Message they brought  
 “ to us, that as yet we rest nothing satisfied in that  
 “ Particular.

“ As for the Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons,  
 “ we are sorry and ashamed it should be asked of  
 “ us to name any; and think it most strange to be  
 “ told, our Denial of a Guard, or any thing else,  
 “ (which in our Understanding, of which God hath  
 “ surely given us some Use, is not fit to be grant-  
 “ ed) should be any Excuse for so dangerous a Con-  
 “ course of People. And we must wonder, what  
 “ and whence come the Instructions and Informations  
 “ that those People have, who can so easily think them-  
 “ selves obliged by the Protestation to assemble in such  
 “ manner for the Defence of Privileges, which can-  
 “ not be so clearly known to any of them, and so  
 “ negligently pass over the Consideration and De-  
 “ fence of our Rights, so beneficial and necessary to  
 “ themselves, and scarce unknown to any of them;  
 “ which by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-  
 “ macy, and even by the same Protestation, they are  
 “ at least equally obliged to defend.

“ By that Question of violating your Laws, by  
 “ which we endeavour'd to express our Care and Re-  
 “ solution to observe them, we did not expect you  
 “ would have been invited to look back so many  
 “ Years, for which you had had so ample Repara-  
 “ tion; neither looked we to have been reproached  
 “ with the Actions of our Ministers then against the  
 “ Laws, whilst we express so great Zeal for the  
 “ present Defence of them; it being our Resoluti-  
 “ on,



“ on, upon Observation of the Mischiefs, which  
 “ then grew by Arbitrary Power, (tho’ made plau-  
 “ sible to us by the Suggestions of Necessity and  
 “ imminent Danger, and take you heed you fall not  
 “ into the same Error upon the same Suggestions)  
 “ hereafter to keep the Rule our self, and to our  
 “ Power require the same from all others. But a-  
 “ bove all, we must be most sensible of what you  
 “ cast upon us for requital of those good Bills you  
 “ cannot deny: We have denied any such Design,  
 “ and as God Almighty must judge in that Point be-  
 “ tween us, who knows our upright Intentions at  
 “ the passing those Laws, so we defy the Devil to  
 “ prove that there was any Design then, (with our  
 “ Knowledge or Privy) in or about the time of  
 “ passing those Bills, that had it taken effect could  
 “ have deprived our Subjects of the Fruit of them.  
 “ And therefore we demand full Reparation in this  
 “ Point, that we may be cleared in the sight of the  
 “ World, and chiefly in the Eyes of our loving  
 “ Subjects, from so notorious and false an Insinua-  
 “ tion.

“ We are far from denying what you have done,  
 “ for we acknowledge the Charge our People have su-  
 “ stained in keeping the two Armies and in relieving  
 “ *Ireland*; of which we are so sensible, that we pa-  
 “ tiently suffer those extream personal Wants our  
 “ Predecessors have been seldom put to, rather than  
 “ we would press upon ’em, which we hope in time  
 “ will be considered on your Parts.

“ In our Offer of a general Pardon, our Intent  
 “ was to compose and secure the general Condition  
 “ of our Subjects, conceiving that in these times of  
 “ great Distractions, the good Laws of the Land  
 “ had not been enough observed; but it is a strange  
 “ World, when Princes proffer’d Favours are count-

“ed Reproaches; yet if you like not this our Of-  
 “fer we have done.

“Concerning any Discourse of foreign Forces,  
 “we must tell you, we have neither so ill an Op-  
 “nion of our own Merit, or the Affections of our  
 “good Subjects, as to think our selves in need of  
 “any foreign Forces to preserve us from Oppressi-  
 “on. And we take it very ill, that general Discour-  
 “ses between an unknown Person and a Mariner, or  
 “Inferences upon Letters, should be able to prevail  
 “in Matters so improbable in themselves, and scan-  
 “dalous to us; for which we cannot but likewise  
 “ask Reparation, not only for the Vindication of  
 “our own Honour, but also thereby to settle the  
 “Minds of our Subjects, whose Fears and Jealous-  
 “ies would soon vanish, were they not fed and  
 “maintain’d by such false and malicious Rumors.

“For our Return to our Parliament you have been  
 “fully answer’d; and you ought to look on us no  
 “as gone, but driven (we say not By you, yet  
 “From you. And if it be not so easie for you to  
 “make our Residence in *London* so safe as we would  
 “desire, we are, and will be contented, that our  
 “Parliament be Adjourned to such a Place, where  
 “we may be fitly and safely with you. For though  
 “we are not pleased to be at this Distance, yet you  
 “are not to expect our Presence, ’till you shall both  
 “secure us concerning our just Apprehensions of tra-  
 “multuary Insolences, and likewise give us Satisfa-  
 “ction for those insupportable and insolent Scandals  
 “that are raised upon us.

“To conclude, as we have or shall not refuse  
 “any agreeable Way to Justice and Honour, which  
 “shall be offer’d to us, for the begetting a right Un-  
 “derstanding between us; so we are resolved, that  
 “no Streights or Necessities to which we may be  
 “driven, shall ever compel us to do that, which  
 “th

“the Reason and Understanding God hath given  
 “us, and our Honour and Interest, with which  
 “he hath trusted us for the Security of our Po-  
 “sterity and Kingdoms, shall render unpleasant and  
 “grievous to us. And we assure you, how mean-  
 “ly soever you are pleased to value the Discharge  
 “of our publick Duty, we are so conscious to our  
 “self of our having done our part since this Parlia-  
 “ment, that in whatsoever Condition we now stand,  
 “we are confident of the continued Protection from  
 “Almighty God, and the constant Gratitude, O-  
 “bedience, and Affection from our People. And  
 “we shall trust God with all.

They were much perplex'd with these quick An-  
 swers the King gave 'em, which convinc'd 'em he  
 would be no more swagger'd into Concessions he  
 thought unreasonable; but that he required Repara-  
 tion for the Breach of his Privileges, and so answer'd  
 them in their own Coin, troubled them much more.  
 And tho' some few, who thought themselves too  
 far advanc'd to look back, were glad these Paper-  
 skirmishes were so sharp, which, they thought, wou'd  
 serve to render the Wound still wider and incur-  
 able; yet the major Part, who had been led to join  
 with them out of a Presumption the King would  
 yield, and that their importunate Craving wou'd ex-  
 port from his Majesty his Consent, wished them-  
 selves fairly disengaged. The Earl of *Essex* him-  
 self was startled, and confess'd privately, “That he  
 desired the Parliament would proceed more mode-  
 rately, and that the King, who had granted so  
 much, should have some Satisfaction in Return;  
 but those of the Court, who cou'd not endure the  
 youngest Courtier should be the Oldest Convert,  
 perswaded him, “His Condition was too desperate  
 to recede: And to confirm him, sower'd him with  
 repeating what the King and Queen had said of him



heretofore, and what Thoughts his Majesty then had of him.

The King found himself something at Ease; many Persons of Condition from *London*, who dared not wait on him at *Whitehal*, together with most of the Quality of that great County, made the Court appear with some Lustre. And now he began to think of putting some of those Resolutions he had made with the Queen at her Departure, in Execution; the first of which to be done was, the putting the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland* from their Offices in the Court; and so he sent an Order to the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, to demand the Staff, and the Key, from the one and the other. He trembled at the Office, and had not the Heart to undertake it. He went immediately to the Lord *Falkland*, and desired his Assistance in excusing himself to the King. He made many Professions of his Duty, and hoped, "His Majesty would not put him upon an Affair so very unbecoming his Office: That if he executed the Order it would be voted a Breach of Privilege, and he be committed to Prison, in which Affront the King would have the greatest Share, tho' for his own part he should be ruined. Whereas the Thing might be executed without any Inconvenience by a more proper Officer.

Tho' these Reasons were weak, the Passion which suggested 'em was strong, and the Lord *Falkland* cou'd not deny conveying his Letter to the King. His Majesty, how ill satisfied soever, saw there was no compassing the Business that Way, and therefore he instantly writ a Letttr with his own Hand to the Lord *Falkland*, in which he enjoined him, "To demand the Ensigns of their Offices from those two Earls. His Lordship was a little concern'd at this Command; however, being punctual in his Duty, he wou'd make no Excuse; and so as he met both

both coming to the House, he acquainted 'em with his Message: They with great Civility delivered both the Staff and Key into his Hands, in Sir Thomas Cotton's Garden, and then went up to the House of Peers. Both Houses presently took Notice of it, and being highly incensed against the evil Counsellors about his Majesty, they agreed in a Vote, "That whosoever presumed to accept of either of those Offices, shou'd be reputed an Enemy to his Country. And then they fell more vehemently upon the Business of the Militia, and whatsoever else touch'd the King's Authority.

Whilst they so eagerly pursued the Militia, and pretended the Necessity so urgent, that there was no deferring it, 'till it could be regularly settled by Bill, they had their Thoughts upon the Royal Navy. And therefore, in the Beginning of the Spring, when that Year's Fleet was equipp'd, they sent a formal Message to the Lords, "That the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Admiral, might be moved to appoint the Earl of Warwick, his Admiral of the Fleet for that Year's Service, and that the Earl of Warwick might be desired to take that Office upon him. The Lords thought the King's Approbation ought first to be given; but the Commons were of Opinion that were superfluous, since the Earl had the absolute Disposol of all the Officers in the Fleet, and therefore sent in their own Names to both; and the Earl of Warwick, without attending for the King's Consent, declared, "He was ready to undertake that Employment. But this being so publickly transacted, the King cou'd not but have Intimation of it; and finding the Thing was not to be proposed to him, thought fit to declare his Pleasure in it, that so the Lord Admiral might not plead Ignorance, if any thing shou'd be done to his Prejudice; and therefore he commanded Mr. Secretary

*Nicholas* to write to the Earl of *Northumberland*,  
 "That his Majesty expected Sir *John Pennington*  
 "should be continued in the Command of the Fleet,  
 This Letter being communicated to both Houses,  
 the House of Commons, rather out of Kindness to  
 the Earl, (who must otherwise have contested sin-  
 gly with the King) than of Duty to his Majesty,  
 condescended to join with the Lords in a Message  
 to his Majesty, which they directed the Keeper to  
 inclose in a Letter to the Secretary, which he ac-  
 cordingly did. The Message was,

"That both Houses found it necessary to provide  
 "a Fleet for the Defence of the Kingdom; and for  
 "as much as the Lord Admiral's Indisposition hin-  
 "der'd him from commanding it in Person,  
 "they had recommended the Earl of *Warwick* in  
 "his Room; and understanding his Majesty had  
 "since signified his Pleasure, in Favour of Sir  
 "*John Pennington* for that command, they thought  
 "themselves bound to acquaint his Majesty, how  
 "mischievous such an Interposition would be to the  
 "Common-wealth, and did therefore humbly entreat  
 "his Majesty, that the Noble Person they had re-  
 "commended, might be no longer detained from that  
 "Service out of Respect to any other Person what-  
 "soever.

His Majesty, immediately upon the Receipt of  
 this Message, dispatch'd an Answer to the Lord Kee-  
 per; in which he told him, "He wonder'd both at  
 "the Form and Matter of the inclosed Paper, it  
 "being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or  
 "Letter; and he believed it was the first Time the  
 "House of Commons had assumed the Nomination  
 "or Recommendation of the chief Sea-Commander;  
 "but it added to his Wonder, that having already  
 "appointed Sir *John Pennington* to that Service, and  
 "no Fault being objected to him, another should  
 "be



be offer'd to him; therefore he was resolv'd not to alter him, whose Sufficiency was so well known, as he knew his Admiral upon Occasion cou'd testify. And tho' there had been none appointed, or Sir *John Pennington* by some Misfortune shou'd be render'd incapable for the Service, yet he said, he was so well acquainted with the Men of that Profession, that he should not be at all pleas'd with Recommendations of that Kind.

Tho' this Answer seem'd to discompose 'em, it was no more than they expected. Pretending they had many Things of Moment to alledge against Sir *John Pennington*, they moved the Lords that he might be sent for, and examined upon several Particulars; and in the mean time, whilst they made him attend for his Examination, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was urg'd to prepare himself for the Service, made no Scruple of undertaking it: For which the King was so much displeas'd at him, that he was not willing any Officer he had a Value for, should accept of an Employment under him; which shortly after he found great Reason to repent. For by this Means the Vice-Admiralty, which was intended for Captain *Cartwright*, Comptroller of the Navy, upon his Refusal (occasioned by an Intimation from his Majesty) was confer'd upon *Batten*, an obscure fellow, who hath ever since behaved himself in it with great Animosity to the King's Interest; of which more hereafter.

Having by this Means secured themselves by Sea, they went on with more Vigour at Land, and tho' they thought it unseasonable as yet to put their Ordinance of the Militia into a formal Execution, however they secretly directed their Agents, that the People should of themselves chuse Captains and Officers, and Train under the Name of Volunteers; which was done principally in those Corporations that

that were notorious for Faction, and Schism in Religion. And that the Attorney-General's Presumption upon their Privileges, in the Accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, might not make the World stand more in Fear of the Law than of them, they proceeded against him with all Expedition and Severity, and after several Altercations between both Houses, notwithstanding his Majesty, in a Message to the Keeper, had absolv'd him from the Guilt with which he was charged, the Lords resolv'd, by way of Judgment upon him, "That he shou'd be disabled from ever being a Parliamentary Man, incapable of any place of Judicature, or other Preferment, than of Attorney-General, and be committed to the Fleet; which Sentence was executed against him accordingly.

Having by this exemplary Proceeding secured their Privileges against such Attempts, they were no less severe to those who presumed to dispute the Justice and Prudence of their Actions, especially to those who, according to the Practice that had done so much Hurt, persuaded the People to Petition for that which they had no Mind to grant, whom they used with as much Severity, as if they had been guilty of the highest Treason imaginable.

Having by this Rigor terrified all Sorts of People, they remember'd a great Magazine was still lying at *Hull*, which was a Treasure they were unwilling to trust so near the King, residing then at *York*; and therefore they resolv'd to remove it from thence, upon a Pretension that it was to supply *Ireland*, and mov'd the Lords to concur with them in an Order to that purpose; and at length it was agreed between them, that a Petition shou'd be sent to the King, in which, that they might the sooner induce him to a Condescension, they resolv'd to remind him of that which they thought would be a Reflection upon him

him with the People, and "to desire him to take off the Reprieve from the six Priests, mentioned before; and so they sent their Petition to him:

They found the Stores in the Tower much diminished, and that the Necessity for the *Irish Supply* (for which they had been issued from thence) daily increased, and that the Reason which had placed the Magazine at *Hull* was removed; they therefore humbly prayed his Majesty's Leave, that it might now be removed to the Tower of *London*, according as both Houses should direct. And whereas six Priests had been by his Majesty Reprieved, they prayed he would be pleased to take off the said Reprieve. To which Petition is Majesty immediately return'd Answer.

*The Houses petition the King to remove the Magazine from Hull.*

"We rather expected an Account from you, why a Garrison hath been placed in *Hull* without our Consent, than to be moved for the Removal of our own proper Goods, upon such general Grounds as give no Satisfaction to our Judgment. And we would gladly be inform'd, why our own Inclination, on the general Rumour of the Designs of the *Papists* in the Northern Parts, was not thought sufficient Ground for us to put a Person of Honour, Fortune, and unblemish'd Reputation, into a Town and Fort of our own, where our own Magazine lay; and yet the same Rumour be a sufficient Warrant to you, to commit the same Town and Fort, without our Consent, into the Hands of Sir *John Hotham*, with a Power unagreeable to the Law of the Land, or the Liberty of the Subject.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

"And yet of this we have not hitherto complain'd, and being confident that the Place, whatever Discourse there is, of publick or private Instructions to the contrary, shall be speedily given up if we require it, we shall be contented to dispose of our

"Muni-



"Munition there, as upon particular Advice we  
 "shall find convenient; tho' we can't think fit that  
 "the whole Magazine should be removed together.  
 "Yet we must tell you, if your Fears be so great  
 "of Foreign Invasions and Domestick Insurrections,  
 "it's strange you make no Provision of Arms and  
 "Munition for Defence of this Kingdom, rather  
 "than seek to carry any more from hence. We  
 "speak not this, as if we thought it unnecessary to  
 "send Arms to *Ireland*, but only for the Way of  
 "the Provision. For you know what great Quantities  
 "we have assign'd out of our several Stores,  
 "which we hope you will in due time see replenish'd:  
 "This we hope will fully satisfy you in  
 "this Point, and that you do not, as you have  
 "done in the Business of the Militia, send this Message  
 "out of Compliment and Ceremony, resolving  
 "to be your own Carvers at last. For we must tell you,  
 "if any Attempt shall be made or given in this  
 "manner, without our Consent and Approbation,  
 "we shall esteem it as an Act of Violence against  
 "us, and declare it to all the World, as the greatest  
 "Violation of our Right, and Breach of our  
 "Privilege.

"Concerning the six Priests condemn'd, it is  
 "true they were repriev'd by our Warrant, we being  
 "informed, that they were disabled by some  
 "Restraint to take the Benefit of our former Proclamation;  
 "but if you think their Execution so very necessary,  
 "we refer it wholly to you; declaring hereby, that upon  
 "such your Resolution signified to the Ministers of Justice,  
 "our Warrant for the Reprieve is determin'd, and the Law  
 "to have its Course. And now let us ask you, Will  
 "there never be a time to offer to, as well as to demand  
 "of us? Take your own time for what concerns  
 "our Particular, but be sure you have an

"ear-

early Care of the Publick; that is, of the only Rule that preserves the Publick, the Law of the Land; preserve the Reverence and Dignity due to that.

They received this Answer with their accustomed Trouble and Discontent, exclaiming against evil Counsellors and malignant Persons about the King. His Majesty's referring the Matter relating to the Priests entirely to them exceedingly perplex'd 'em; for tho' they were willing they should have suffer'd by his Majesty's Warrant for taking off the Reprieve, which being a thing unquestionably in his own Power, would have lessen'd the Devotion of that People towards him, yet they cared not to take that harsh Part upon themselves; and so the Priests lived safer under that Reference for their Execution, than if they had obtained at that time a Pardon under the Great Seal. As for that part of the Answer concerning the Magazine, it moved them not; but in a few Days, notwithstanding the King's Inhibition, they gave Order for the transporting it to London. About this Time they received another Message from the King, which put 'em into some serious Trouble and Apprehension; the Substance of which was:

"That being infinitely griev'd at the Miseries of his good Subjects of *Ireland*, and highly sensible of the false and scandalous Reports spread among the People, which not only wounded his Majesty's Honour, and retarded the Reduction of that unhappy Kingdom, but multiplied the Distractions at home, he had firmly resolv'd to go thither in Person with all convenient Speed. And as he doubted not but his Parliament would contribute all possible Assistance to so good a Work, so he declared, that he would not decline any Hazard of his Person, in performing that Duty he owed to

"the

*His Majesty offers in a Message, April 8. 1642. to go in Person into Ireland.*

“ the Defence of God’s true Religion, and his distressed Subjects.

“ He further advertis’d them, that towards this Work he intended to raise a Guard for his own Person, (when he should come into *Ireland*) of 2000 Foot and 200 Horse, the Charge of raising and paying whereof, he desired the Parliament to add to their former Undertakings for that War; and if their Pay should be found too burdensome to his Subjects, he was willing, by the Advice of his Parliament, to sell or pawn any of his Parks, Lands or Houses, towards the Supplies of that Service.

This Message discomposed ’em more than any they had received before, or ever after, for hereby they should lose the Management of the War of *Ireland*, which, if the King went thither, would be taken out of their Hands; and the King would probably recover in a short time one entire Kingdom to his Obedience, and be thereby enabled to maintain the Peace of the other two. However, by making several Impressions upon several Affections, they found it a Matter of no great Difficulty to create an almost unanimous Aversion to that Journey: And therefore they Magisterially answer’d the King.

“ That they had duly considered his Majesty’s Message, and the Design he was pleas’d to propose to them, not as a Matter wherein he desired the Advice of his Parliament, but as a thing already resolv’d on, and forthwith to be put in execution: Whereupon they said, they held it their Duty to declare, that if he persisted in his Purpose he would very much endanger his Royal Person and Kingdoms, and all other Protestant States in Christendom.

“ Upon this they said they had resolv’d, by a concurrent Agreement of both Houses, that they  
“ could



could not consent to any Levies to be raised by his Majesty for that his intended Expedition, and if such Levies should be made without the Consent of both Houses, they should be forced to interpret the same to be raised to the Disturbance of the publick Peace; and held themselves bound by the Law of the Land to apply the Authority of Parliament to suppress the same.

“ And they did most humbly declare, that if the evil Council about his Majesty should persuade him to go, contrary to their Advice, they did not think themselves bound to submit to any Commissioners his Majesty should leave behind, but did resolve to preserve and govern the Kingdom, by the Counsel and Advice of Parliament, for his Majesty and his Posterity, according to their Allegiance, and the Law of the Land. Wherefore they did most humbly advise his Majesty to desist from that his intended Expedition, and leave the Management of that War to his Parliament, according to his Promise; and they hoped upon good grounds, that if their Proceedings were not interrupted by that Interposition of his Majesty's Journey, they should be able in a short time fully to vindicate his Right in that Kingdom. For their more effectual Success therein, they again besought him to return to his Parliament, and that he would be pleased to reject all Counsels and Apprehensions, prejudicial to that Faithfulness and Allegiance they always bore his Majesty, and which they were ready to make good with their Lives.

To this Petition his Majesty immediately answer'd, That being disappointed of the Approbation and Thanks he thought he had by that Declaration deserved from 'em, he now much doubted if he

“ was

" was able to say or do any thing that would not  
 " fall within the like Interpretation: But he said, as  
 " he had in that Message call'd God to witness his  
 " Sincerity in his Undertaking that Journey, so he  
 " appealed to the World, if the Reasons urged a-  
 " gainst it had that Weight, or the Counsel to dis-  
 " suade him from it, the Duty that became them.  
 " For his resolving upon such a Thing without their  
 " Advice, he bid 'em remember how often he had  
 " made 'em the same Offer, if they should advise  
 " him to it, to which they never return'd him an  
 " Answer; but their late Declaration told him Words  
 " would not satisfy 'em; which gave him Reason to  
 " conceive they rather avoided giving him Coun-  
 " sel out of Regard to his Person, than that they  
 " disapproved the Inclination.

" For the Danger to his Person, he said, it be-  
 " came a Prince, and it was his Duty to hazard his  
 " Life for the Good of his People. He told 'em  
 " they used him unkindly in refusing the Addition  
 " of so few Men to their Levies, for the Guard of  
 " his Person; and that when he recommended the  
 " Management of the War to them, he intended not  
 " to exclude himself so far, as when he found any  
 " Expedient, which he thought necessary for that  
 " great Work, he might not put it in Practice. He  
 " said, he should be very glad to find the Business  
 " of *Ireland* such an easie Matter as they imagin'd  
 " it; but tho' he was ready to venture his Person  
 " for the Safety of his People, he was not so wear-  
 " of his Life, as to hazard it impertinently, and  
 " therefore he would sit still a while to see the Ef-  
 " fects of their Assurance; but if he found the Mi-  
 " serable Condition of his poor Subjects there was  
 " not speedily relieved, he would, by the help of  
 " God, visit them with such Assistance as his par-  
 " ticular

particular Credit and Interest could supply, if they refused to join with him.

“He told them, he expected they should have sent him Word they had taken such Courses for the suppressing Tumults and unlawful Assemblies for the future, and punishing all seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, that his Fears of that kind might have been removed, before they press’d his Return to *London*.

“To conclude, he told ’em, he wish’d they would examin their Messages to him, with the same Strictness they did those they received from him, and then they would find there were many Expressions contain’d in ’em, that were warranted only by their own Authority: to which indeed he forbore to give an Answer, lest in a just Indignation he should express himself in a greater Passion than he was yet willing to put on.

From this time forward they were freed from the apprehension of his Majesty’s personal Expedition to *Ireland*, which gave the Faction new Cause of triumph, that they had been able to swagger him out of what he pretended he had firmly resolv’d; which Disadvantage was attended and improved by another concerning the Militia.

His Majesty had, by the Attorney-General, presented a Bill to the House of Lords, granting the Militia for one Year to the Persons named by the Parliament, subject to his Majesty’s Authority, and that the two Houses jointly; but the Alterations the two Houses had made in it, before they return’d it again for the Royal Assent, were such, and there was indeed so great a Difference between the Bill sent by his Majesty, and that they presented to him, that he could not reasonably be imagined he would consent to it; yet it had been happier for his Majesty if the first Motion of the Bill had never begun from him;



him; for upon his rejecting the Bill with the Alterations they had made in it, they persuaded the People he now refused to consent to what had been first offer'd and propos'd by himself.

However, his Majesty being well pleas'd he had gone through one of his Resolutions, and little concern'd at their Anger towards him for it, he resolv'd now to enter upon another Enterprize of more Importance, and which indeed was the reason of his Journey into those Parts. He had been persuad'd, that being possess'd of *Hull* and the Magazine there, which was a nobler Proportion of Stores than remain'd in the Tower, or any where else throughout the Kingdom, he should find the Parliament more modest and tractable: Hereupon taking the Advantage of a Petition from the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, (who indeed were much concern'd at the Order of the two Houses for the Removal of the Magazine from thence, and were ready to undertake any thing for his Service) he resolv'd to go thither himself; and the Night before sent his Son the Duke of *York* thither, attended by the Prince Elector and some other Persons of Honour, who took it for no other than a Journey given to the Duke's Curiosity; and they were receiv'd by Sir *John Hotham* with a Duty that became him. The next Morning early the King himself, attended by two or three Hundred of his own Servants and Gentlemen of the Country, rode thither; and when he was come within a Mile of the Town, a Gentleman was sent before, to let Sir *John Hotham* know his Majesty would dine with him, which, at least in appearance, extremely surpriz'd him. He was a Man of a timorous Nature and perplex'd Understanding, otherwise well affected to the Government, and accepted of this Employment from the Parliament out of a Presumption, that the preserving that Magazine from being

being possess'd by the King, would prevent any possible Rupture into Arms. So that his Majesty coming an Hour after his Messenger, found the Gates shut, and all things in a readiness as for the Reception of an Enemy; Sir *John* himself from the Walls telling his Majesty, That being trusted by the Parliament, he durst not open the Gates; the King replied, He believed he had no Order to keep him out of the Town, and that he would enter with only twenty Horse of his Train, and that the rest should stay without; which the other refusing, his Majesty told him, "This unparallel'd Act of his would produce some notable Effect; that after such an Indignity he must immediately proclaim him Traitor, and as such proceed against him; that this Disobedience might probably involve the Kingdom in Blood, - which he advis'd him to think sadly of, and by doing the Duty of a Subject prevent it. The Gentleman talk'd distractedly of the Trust he had from the Parliament; then fell on his Knees, and wish'd God would bring Confusion upon him and his, if he were not a loyal and faithful Subject to his Majesty; but in the end plainly refused to admit his Majesty into the Town.

Upon which his Majesty immediately caus'd him to be proclaimed a Traitor, and retiring that Night to *Beverly*, he return'd next Day to *York*, full of trouble and Indignation at the Affront he had receiv'd, from which he foresaw a very great deal of Mischief was likely to ensue; and tho' the Gentlemen of the County offer'd to raise the Country, and take the Town by force, his Majesty for many reasons chose to send an Express to both Houses, with a Message declaring what had pass'd; "How much he was concern'd at this undutiful Affront from Sir *John Hotham*, who justified his Treason

A 2 2

" by

“ by Pretence of an Order and Trust from them;  
 “ and therefore that he was impatient ‘till he had  
 “ receiv’d that Justice from them which he de-  
 “ manded, and required likewise that the Town of  
 “ *Hull*, and the Magazine, might be immediately  
 “ deliver’d up to him.

Instead of answering these Messages, for his Majesty had sent them two, they immediately publish’d several Votes and Resolutions.

“ That Sir *John Hotham* had done nothing but in  
 “ Obedience to the Command of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, and that the declaring him a Traitor,  
 “ being a Member of Parliament, was a Breach of  
 “ Privilege. Then they issued out their Orders to  
 the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace of *Lincoln* and  
*Yorkshire*, to suppress all Forces rais’d in those Coun-  
 ties, either to force the Town of *Hull*, or block it  
 up, or in any other way to break the Peace of the  
 Kingdom.

And having Printed these Votes, Orders, and  
 Declarations, and dispers’d ‘em carefully throughout  
 the Kingdom, before they thought fit to answer his  
 Majesty’s Messages, the King publish’d an Answer  
 justifying his Title to the Town of *Hull*, and his  
 manner of going thither, and answering all their Al-  
 legations in those their Printed Votes and Declarations.  
 Notwithstanding all which, the better to encourage  
 Sir *John Hotham*, and for a good Pretence of his  
 Son’s Residence at *Hull*, in whom they more relied  
 than in the Father, they order’d, “ That if Sir *John*  
 “ *Hotham* should lose his Life, or otherwise dye in  
 “ that Service, his Son should succeed him in the  
 “ Government. And having thus declared them-  
 selves, they thought fit at last to dispatch some  
 particular Answer to his Majesty, and the rather  
 for that under that Pretence, they might send  
 down



down a Committee of their own to reside at *York*, whereby they might receive daily Information of the Occurrences there. To that purpose they deputed the Lord *Howard of Escrigg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Harry Cholmley*, who presented their Answer, of a Mould and Dialect, higher than even themselves had yet used in writing to his Majesty, containing,

“That in Regard of the wicked Counsels and Practices of some in near Trust and Authority about his Majesty, and left by the Advantage of the Town and Magazine of *Hull*, they should be able to go through with the Mischief they had intended, they had commanded Sir *John Hotham* to secure and keep the said Town for the Service of his Majesty and his Kingdom. Wherein they had done nothing derogatory to his Sovereignty in that Town, nor his Legal Propriety in the Magazine; and had adjudged, that Sir *John Hotham* cou’d not have discharged his Trust, if he had admitted his Majesty with such Company and Counsellors as were then about him; and had therefore cleared him from that odious Crime of Treason, assuring themselves, that his Majesty, upon mature Deliberation, will not interpret his Obedience to such Authority to be an Affront to his Majesty, or require any Satisfaction thereupon; but that he wou’d concur with his Parliament in securing the Peace of the Kingdom, and suppressing that wicked malignant party. For preventing which they knew no better Remedy, than settling the Militia according to the Bill they had sent his Majesty, without the declining the Validity of their Ordinance, which they still held to be effectual by the Laws of the Kingdom. And that his Majesty would be pleased to declare he had laid aside all Thoughts of go-

"ing to *Ireland*, and was resolv'd speedily to return,  
 "and reside near his Parliament.

To this Answer his Majesty made a quick Reply.

"That, considering how long they had been answering his two Messages concerning *Hull*, he expected to have received better Satisfaction therein. He asked them, whether it was not too much to put a *Garrison* into it without his Consent, but that now the Reasons thereof shou'd be enlarged with Scandal to himself and his faithful Servants, only that they might more speciously avow Sir *John Hotham's* Insolence and Treason? He told 'em, he had not as yet given the least Interruption to publick Justice; but they, rather than resign one of their Members to a Legal Trial for the highest Crime, by an Order of Parliament countenance Treason, and declare him free from that Guilt which all former Ages never accounted other.

"Therefore he expected, as a Thing upon which the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom depended, they wou'd give him speedy Justice against Sir *John Hotham*. And he gave all his good Subjects leave to think what Hope of Justice was left for them, when they refused or delayed to give their own Sovereign Satisfaction. And, as he had already said, 'till that should be done, he wou'd intend no other Business but that of *Ireland*.

"As for the Militia, he expected they wou'd not put that in Execution, 'till they proved by what Law they cou'd do it without his Consent; if they did, he made no Doubt but he shou'd find more Obedience according to Law, than they wou'd do against it. Concerning his Return, he never knew the standing a King's Government, refusing him Justice in a Case of Treason, and seeking to

"rob

“rob him of his undoubted Legal Authority, were  
“Arguments to induce a King to come near, or  
“hearken to his Parliament.

His Majesty was the more speedy in this Answer, that the Country might not be influenced by the Presence and Activity of the Committee, whom he required to make all convenient Hast with it to the House; they told him, “They wou’d send it by  
“an Express, but that themselves were required to  
“reside still at York. His Majesty “wish’d ’em to  
“be very careful in their Conduct; that the Country was then well affected; and if he found any  
“Alteration, he knew whom to impute it to, and  
“shou’d be forced to use them in another manner, than with Reference to their Persons he shou’d be  
“willing to do. They answer’d with a fullen Confidence, “That they wou’d behave themselves according to their Instructions, and the Trust reposed in ’em by the Parliament. And so they remained above a Month in York, even in Defiance of his Majesty.

The Militia was the Argument of greatest Weight with the People, wherefore they resolved to drive that Nail to the Head, and publish’d the Resolution of the Lords and Commons upon that Matter; containing in Substance,

“That holding it necessary, for the Peace and  
“Safety of the Kingdom, to settle the Militia there-  
“of, they had prepared an Ordinance of Parliament  
“to that purpose, to which his Majesty had refused  
“his Consent, inviting ’em by several Messages to  
“settle the same by Act of Parliament. Whereupon  
“they, being desirous to satisfie his Majesty all they  
“cou’d, even with the least Title of Form and Cir-  
“cumstance, had entertain’d a Bill he was pleased  
“to offer them, which with some Alterations they

*The Decla-  
ration of  
the two  
House. a-  
bout the  
Militia,  
May 5.  
1642.*



“did pass; but all these Desires to comply with  
 “his Majesty produced no better Effects, than an  
 “absolute Denial, even of that, which by his for-  
 “mer Messages they conceive had been promised.

“They therefore, being intrusted with the Safety  
 “of the Kingdom, and Peace of the People, find-  
 “ing themselves denied those their just and necessa-  
 “ry Demands, did resolve to put their said Ordi-  
 “nance in present Execution, and required of all  
 “Persons concern’d an exact Conformity to the same,  
 “as they tender’d the Safety of the Protestant Reli-  
 “gion, now in this time of imminent and approach-  
 “ing Danger, the Safeguard of his Majesty’s Per-  
 “son and Posterity, the Peace of the Kingdom, and  
 “the Being of this Common-wealth.

This Declaration being the first they had in plain  
 Terms publish’d against the King, without ever ac-  
 quainting him with it, or presenting it to him, his  
 Majesty was at a Loss what Notice to take of it;  
 but conceiving some Antidote necessary for this Poi-  
 son, he publish’d a Declaration by way of Answer,  
 in which he said,

*His Maje-  
 sty’s Decla-  
 ration in  
 Answer to  
 it.*

“He was very sensible how much it was beneath  
 “his Royal Dignity, to concern himself in answer-  
 “ing those many scandalous Pamphlets, that were so  
 “licentious scatter’d throughout the Kingdom;  
 “yet doubting what Influence they might have up-  
 “on his People, he was willing to stoop to any Of-  
 “fice that might undeceive them.

“He said, he had met with a Printed Paper en-  
 “titled, A Declaration of both Houses, in Answer  
 “to his last Message, concerning the Militia, pub-  
 “lish’d by Command; which he was unwilling to  
 “believe cou’d be the Sense of both Houses (con-  
 “sidering the Matter of it, the Expressions in it,  
 “and the Manner of publishing it) nor did his Ma-  
 “jesty know by what Lawful Command such un-  
 “comely

“comely irreverent Mention of him cou’d be publish’d to the World. Their Business, for which they were met by his Authority, was to counsel him, not to write against him; nor had his consenting to their long Continuance together enabled ’em to do any thing, but what they were first summon’d by his Writ to do.

“He said, He had mentioned several Things in his Answer, to which their Declaration afforded none, and therefore he cou’d not suppose it was intended as an Answer to that his Message; that it inform’d all his Majesty’s Subjects, that upon his Majesty’s Refusal they were at last necessitated to make an Ordinance by Authority of both Houses, to settle the Militia, warrant’d thereunto by the Fundamental Laws of the Land. But his Majesty saith, If that Declaration was indeed designed as an Answer for him, they would have told the World what those Fundamental Laws were, and where to be found, and wou’d at least have instanced in one Ordinance, from the first Beginning of Parliaments to this very Time, which intended to impose any thing upon the Subject, without the King’s Consent. And if the Votes of both Houses cou’d make a new Law, they cou’d by the same Authority repeal the old; and then what would become of the long establish’d Rights of the King and Subject, and particularly of *Magna Charta*?

“It was said, he had been pleased to offer ’em a Bill ready drawn, and that they, to express their ready Compliance with his Majesty, did pass that Bill, which notwithstanding produced no better Effect than an absolute Denial, even of what his former Messages had promised. But his Majesty said, if that Declaration had been examined in both Houses, they never wou’d have affirmed the Bill  
“he

“he refused to pass, was the same he had sent to  
“them.

“The Power, as they said, was to be no other  
“than to suppress Rebellion, Insurrection, and fo-  
“reign Invasion; but his Majesty thought great  
“Heed was to be taken, into what Hands he com-  
“mitted such a Power, since the great Liberty used  
“in Voting and Declaring Men to be Enemies to the  
“Common-wealth, (a Phrase he scarce understood)  
“and in censuring Men for their Service and Atten-  
“dance upon his Majesty’s Person and Lawful Com-  
“mands; if there was Learning found out to make  
“Sir *John Hotham*’s taking up Arms against him,  
“and detaining his Majesty’s Town and Fort from him  
“lawful, he knew not whether the same Learning might  
“not prove it Rebellion in his Majesty to defend  
“himself, and endeavour to recover his own; and  
“therefore, he said, ’till the known Laws of the  
“Land were allow’d to be Judge between them,  
“he must take heed with whom he trusted such  
“Power.

“Whether that Declaration had refuted his Ma-  
“jesty’s Reasons for not passing the Bill, or no, it  
“required all Persons in Authority thereby to put  
“the Ordinance in present Execution, and all others  
“to obey it according to the Fundamental Law of  
“the Land. But his Majesty did declare, that a  
“Submission to that pretended Ordinance was against  
“the fundamental Laws of the Land, the Liberty of  
“the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and a High  
“Crime in any that should execute the same: And  
“his Majesty did therefore forbid all his loving  
“Subjects, upon their Allegiance, to act any thing  
“by Virtue, or under Colour of that pretended Or-  
“dinance, as they should answer the contrary at their  
“Perils.

Not-



Notwithstanding these sharp Paper - Skirmishes, the Faction had the Power and Skill to persuade Men, "That all wou'd be well; that they were confident "the King would yield to whatever they desired; "at least that they should obtain a good part, if not "all, and that there wou'd be no War; tho' themselves knew, the Fire was too much kindled not to break out into a Flame, and therefore prepared accordingly, both in the raising Men and Money. And that they might confirm the schismatical part of the Kingdom, who thought them not brisk and furious enough in their intended Reformation, they had a little before declared to the Publick.

"That they design'd a due and necessary Reformation in the Government and Liturgy of the "Church, and to abolish nothing in the one or the "other, but what should be Evil, at least needless "and burdenson; to which pious End they wou'd "have a speedy Consultation with Learned and Godly Divines, and use their utmost Endeavours to "establish Learned and Preaching Ministers, with "a sufficient Maintenance throughout the Kingdom.

This Declaration was not more intended for the Encouragement of such, who were grown impatient for a Reformation, than to lull those asleep, who began to apprehend a Confusion from the Licence they saw practis'd against the establish'd Doctrine and Government of the Church, in which Project they were not disappointed.

And they quickly show'd with what Godly and Learned Divines they intended to consult, and what Reformation they mean'd, by ordering their Members to bring in the Names of such Divines for their several Counties, as they thought proper to constitute an Assembly for the framing a new Model for the Government of the Church. Those who were  
true

true Sons of the Church, abhorring a Reformation, which begun with the Suppression of the Church's Rights in a Synod, as well known as *Magna Charta*, not so much as named any Sober Learned Men; and if any well-affected Member, not well weighing the Consequence of that Violation, did nominate an Orthodox Divine, they had Argument enough against him; that he was chosen by one in whom they cou'd not confide; and they only had Credit enough to nominate to this Consultation, who were known to be for demolishing the whole Fabrick of the Church. So that of about 120. of which that Assembly was to consist, there were not above twenty who were not profess'd Enemies to the Church of *England*, some infamous in their Lives, others scandalous for their Ignorance and Malice to the Church; so that that Assembly hath produced nothing since, which might not then have been reasonably expected from them.

But that which gave the greatest Life to their prevailing Faction, was the Severity they shew'd all those, of what Quality or Degree soever, who opposed their Counsels and Proceedings, whilst on the contrary, whoever closed with them in their violent Conclusions, how infamous soever for his former Life, was with open Arms received, countenanc'd, and protected: So that between those that lov'd, and those that feared 'em; those who were averse to the Church, and those who had an Aversion for some Church-men; those who had been oppress'd by the Court, or had assisted the Court in oppressing others; those who dreaded their Power, and they, who apprehended their Justice; their Party was grown, especially in the City, extremely formidable.

The King all this Time made the best Provision he cou'd against the Storm he saw approaching; and the Queen was as intent on her Part abroad; so that

that both Sides, whilst they amused each other with Discourses of Peace, prepared for that War they saw of necessity ready to burst out.

Hitherto the greatest Acts of Hostility, excepting that at *Hull*, were no more than Votes and Orders; but now they thought it high time to let the King and People see they were in earnest, and Resolv'd "That on the 10th of *May* they would have all the "Train'd-Bands muster'd; and their new Officer, Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, appear'd that Day accordingly in *Finsbury* Fields, at the Head of the City Train'd-Bands, consisting of about 8000 Soldiers, under such Officers as they had cause to confide in: At which triumphant Muster both Houses appear'd in gross, and were entertained by the City at near a Thousand Pounds Expence. After this Exploit they sent their Directions to the adjacent Counties "Speedily to execute the same Ordinance.

The King saw now he was so far from having *Hull* restor'd, that the Garrison there encreased daily, so that Sir *John Hotham* was better able to take *York*, than his Majesty to recover *Hull*; and therefore he thought it now high time to follow their Example, and put himself into a Posture of Defence. He therefore declared at a publick Meeting of the Country, "That in regard of "the publick Distempers, and Neighbourhood of "*Hull*, he was resolv'd to have a Guard about his "Person, which should consist of such as should "give no occasion of Jealousie to the most suspicious; and wished the Gentlemen of Quality then "present to consider of the Way: Who shortly after (in spite of the Opposition they met with from the Committee, and the factious Party of the County) chearfully agreed, "That a sufficient Guard "was requisite for the Safety of his Majesty's Person.



son. Hereupon such Gentlemen as were willing lifted themselves by his Majesty's Appointment into a Troop of Horse, of whom the Prince of *Wales* was made Captain, which with one Regiment of the Train'd-Bands, about 600 in number, was his Body Guard; he having first declared, "No Person should be allowed either in the Troop or Regiment, who did not before his Admission take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; thereby to avoid the Scandal of entertaining *Papists* for his Security."

But this Precaution was to no purpose; for as soon as they heard at *London* that the King actually had a Guard, these Votes were published, and dispersed by both Houses.

1. "That the King, seduced by evil Counsellors, intended to make War against the Parliament.
2. "That whensoever he doth so, it will be a Breach of the Trust reposed in him; contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government.
3. That whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such Wars are Traitors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 2. *Rich. II.* and 1. *Hen. IV.*

These lusty Votes they sent to the King at *Tork*, accompanied with a short Petition, in which they told him,

They Petition the King to dissolve his Guards.

"That his Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, did humbly represent to his Majesty, that notwithstanding his frequent Professions of his Desire and Intention to preserve the true Protestant Profession, the Laws of the Land, the Liberties of his People, and the Peace of the Nations; nevertheless they were informed, that under a Pretence of raising a Guard for the Security

“ rity of his Person, (of which Guard, considering  
 “ the vigilant Care and Fidelity of his Parliament,  
 “ there could be no use) his Majesty by his Com-  
 “ mand had assembled at York Troops of Horse and  
 “ Foot; which in the Beginning was an Affright-  
 “ ment and Disturbance to his Leige-People, as ap-  
 “ pear’d by their Petition deliver’d to them, in the  
 “ Continuance and Increase must needs be a just  
 “ Cause of great Jealousie to his Parliament, and  
 “ Danger to his whole Kingdom.

“ Therefore they did humbly beseech his Maje-  
 “ sty to rely, as his Predecessors had done, upon  
 “ the Laws and Affections of his People for his Se-  
 “ curity, and content himself with his ordinary  
 “ Guard, otherwise they should hold themselves  
 “ bound with their utmost Care to secure the Par-  
 “ liament, and preserve the Publick Peace.

Their Leiger-Committee there having delivered  
 publickly, and read this Petition with an equal Con-  
 fidence, his Majesty answer’d;

“ That those causeless Jealousies of his Majesty,  
 “ raised and fomented by a malignant Party in the  
 “ Kingdom, should not only seduce the weaker part  
 “ of the Nation, but find so much Countenance from  
 “ both Houses, as that his raising of a Guard, for  
 “ no other Design than the Safety of his Person,  
 “ should be declared to be a Raising of a War against  
 “ them, he could not but extreamly wonder at;  
 “ and no less, that the Inhabitants of the Country  
 “ should be said to apprehend it as an Affrightment,  
 “ and Disturbance to his People. He said, he was  
 “ sure if they were themselves Eye-witnesses they  
 “ would so see the contrary, as to give little Credit  
 “ hereafter to their Informers; and if their Informa-  
 “ tion was no better in other Parts of the Kingdom,  
 “ certainly the Minds of his People (which to some  
 “ Ends and Purposes they did represent) were but  
 “ ill

“ill represented unto ‘em. He ask’d ‘em, when so  
 “many Months together they had raised to them-  
 “selves a Guard by their own single Authority,  
 “(and that sometimes of no ordinary Numbers and  
 “in no ordinary Way) and yet all their Pikes and  
 “Protestations had not prevail’d with his Majesty to  
 “command ‘em to disband their Forces, and con-  
 “tent themselves with their usual Guard, that is no  
 “Guard at all, or made him apprehend they intend-  
 “ed to levy War against him, or had any further  
 “Design; how they could possibly suspect and con-  
 “demn him, who in the same Matter, and upon  
 “much better Ground, was so far from taxing or  
 “distrusting them? Notwithstanding the Care and  
 “Fidelity of his Parliament, his Fort was armed a-  
 “gainst him, his proper Goods first detained from  
 “him, and then offer’d and attempted by Force to  
 “be carried away contrary to his Command, in  
 “which his Property as a private Person, and his Au-  
 “thority as a King was wrested from him: And  
 “yet for him to secure himself in a lawful Way,  
 “that Sir *John Hotham* might not by the same or  
 “more Forces continue the War he had levied a-  
 “gainst his Majesty, and as well imprison his Person  
 “as detain his Goods, as well shut him up in *Tork*,  
 “as shut him out of *Hull*, was now said to be rais-  
 “ing a War against his Parliament, and of Danger  
 “to the Kingdom. He appealed to all the World,  
 “whether that Petition, with such a threatening Con-  
 “clusion, attended with more threatening Votes,  
 “gave him not reason to strengthen rather than weak-  
 “en his Guards.

“He concluded all with this Counsel to ‘em, That  
 “they would join with him in exacting Satisfacti-  
 “on from Sir *John Hotham*, and command his Fort  
 “and Goods to be return’d to him: That they  
 “would lay aside all Pretences of making Laws with-

“out



“out his Majesty, and by consequence make no more  
 “than a Cipher of his Majesty: That they would  
 “declare effectually against Tumults, and call in;  
 “and punish the Authors and Publishers of such  
 “Pamphlets, as seditiously endeavour to render him  
 “incapable of protecting his People; which if they  
 “did, they would then, and hardly ’till then, con-  
 “vince the World they had discharged their Duty  
 “to God, the Trust reposed in ’em by the People  
 “and the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the  
 “Kingdom; and imploy’d their Care and Power to  
 “secure the Parliament, (for, he said, he should still  
 “be a Part of the Parliament, ’till this well tem-  
 “per’d Monarchy was degenerated into a Demo-  
 “cracy) and preserve the Peace and Quiet of the  
 “Kingdom; which, together with the Defence of  
 “the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land,  
 “and his own just Prerogative, had been the chief  
 “End he had ever propos’d to himself.

In this Place it will not be amiss to consider the  
 Method of God’s Justice, (a Method terribly re-  
 markable in many Passages, and upon many Persons,  
 which we shall be forced to remember in this Di-  
 course) that the same Principles should be used to  
 the extorting all Sovereign Power from the Crown,  
 which the Crown had a little before used to extend  
 its Authority beyond its Bounds, to the Prejudice of  
 the just Rights of the Subject. A supposed Necessity  
 was then thought Reason sufficient to create a Pow-  
 er of taxing the Subject as they thought convenient,  
 by Writs of Ship-mony never known before; and a  
 supposed Necessity is now more fatally concluded a  
 good Plea to exclude the Crown from the Exercise  
 of any Power, by an Ordinance never before heard  
 of; and the same Maxim of *Salus Populi suprema*  
*Lex*, which had been used to break in upon the Liber-  
 ty of the one, was applied for the destroying the Rights  
 of

of the Crown: Only that of the *Psalmist* is inverted; for many of those who were chiefly concern'd in making the first Pit, are so far from falling into it, that they have been the chiefest Workmen in the second, in which so many have been confounded.

Tho' as yet it did not really enter into their Thoughts, that the King would be able to raise any Force against 'em, yet they were vexed at the Heart to find he lived more like a King than they wished he should; that whereas a little before his own Servants were terrified from waiting upon him, now the chief Gentlemen of all Counties came in to tender their Service; which showed a Dislike at least, if not a Contempt of their Carriage towards him. Therefore to prevent this mischievous Obedience to him, they appointed the Serjeant attending the House of Commons to apprehend some Persons who had resorted to *York*, and bring 'em as Delinquents to answer such Matters to the House as should be alleged against them. Among these was one *Beckwith*, a Gentleman of *Yorkshire*, who, as Sir *John Hotham* had informed them, had been tampering with some Officers of the Garrison to deliver *Hull* up to the King; this they declared to be an enormous Crime, and little less than High-Treason, and therefore as a Delinquent he was sent for to attend them. It was thought highly ridiculous by *Standers* by, that Sir *John Hotham* should be justified for keeping the Town against the King, and another Gentleman be judged a Delinquent for endeavoring to restore it to its Allegiance; and that they, who not long before, when the King had by his Warrant required Serjeant-Major *Skippon* to attend his Majesty at *York*, Resolv'd, and Printed that Resolution, That such a Command was against the Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and Privilege of Parliament, and therefore that their Serjeant-Major

Major-General of the Forces of *London* (that was the Title they had given him) should continue to attend the Service of both Houses according to their former Commands; should expect a Submission to their Warrant from those who were attending on the King; whose known lawful Authority, abstracted from any Relation to the Parliament or its Privileges, they had so peremptorily opposed and contemn'd, that the same Day in which they had privileged their Officer *Skippon* from his Allegiance and Duty, being informed that the King had sent a Writ to Adjourn the Term from *Westminster* to *York*, which undoubtedly he had a lawful Power to do, they declared, "That such an Adjournment, in the sitting of Parliament, was Illegal; and Order'd, That the Lord Keeper should not issue out any Writ, or seal any Proclamation to that purpose; which he observ'd accordingly, notwithstanding his Majesty's Command for the Adjournment.

The Officer, when he came to *York* to apprehend the Delinquents, found the Parliament as much neglected there, as the King was above; and was so well received by those he took to be his Prisoners, that if the King had not extraordinarily interposed, he would scarce have return'd to report how insignificant such Warrants were like to be at *York*, and how dangerous such Employments would prove to the Adventurers. This new Contradiction (tho' they appear'd highly surpriz'd at it) was no more than they expected; for their Dilemma was, if their Messenger return'd with his Prize, all the Resort to *York* and Lustre there would be determined, for who would repair thither, when a bare Vote would throw 'em upon the Inconveniencies of an Imprisonment? If he was receiv'd with Neglect and Affront, as they conceived he would, they had a new Reproach for the King, "of protecting Delinquents a-



“gainst the Justice of Parliament; which would be a new Encroachment upon their Privileges, as unpopular as any, for the Vindication whereof they stood as much engaged by their Protestation, as they were on behalf of the five Members. And such Votes they published upon their Officer’s Return, and much about the same time two voluminous Declarations to the People; the one stuffed with all the reiterated Complaints, and poisonous Repetitions, of what had been, or had been thought to have been done amiss during his Majesty’s whole Reign, to make his Person odious or unacceptable; the other undervaluing his Royal Power, and declaring against it, to render his Authority despised, at least not feared.

About this time there happened an Accident, at which they were much troubled. The King had been highly unsatisfied with the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, who from the time the Members were accused had lost all his Vigour, and instead of opposing any of their extravagant Debates, silently suffer’d all things to be carried as they would have them, complying very much; and caressing the Party, who often resorted to him; and of late, upon a Question in the House of Peers concerning the Militia, he had voted both against the King and the Law, to the infinite Displeasure and Scandal of all those who stood firm to his Majesty.

He had a great Reputation in the Profession of the Law, in the hardest and most knotty Parts of which he had been very laborious; he was exceedingly well vers’d in Records, in studying whereof he had associated himself with Mr. *Selden*, to whose Friendship and Assistance he stood much engaged. After he had been Solicitor-General, he was upon the Death of the Lord *Coventry*, whom *Finch* succeeded, made Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, that Place,

which,

which, in his highest Ambition, he was us'd to say in his own private Wishes, he most desired: It was indeed the Sphere in which he most gracefully mov'd. being Master of all that Learning and Experience proper to the Place, an excellent Judge, of eminent Gravity, and not in the least suspected of Corruption.

Upon the Lord *Finch's* quitting the Kingdom in the Beginning of this Parliament, he was in many Respects judg'd the most proper to succeed him; but from that time he seem'd to be out of his Element, and tho' he was well experienced in the Practice and Proceedings of that Court, he seem'd perplex'd and irresolute in the Chancery it self, and appear'd so mean and dispirited in the Parliament, that few or none respect'd him, but they who most oppos'd the King, which wonderful Alteration in him his Friends imputed to a great Sickness; but certainly there were other Causes for it, and he was seized with some melancholy Apprehensions he cou'd not overcome, and he wanted a Friend, to whom he durst entirely communicate them.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was much trust'd by the King in the House of Commons, and had ever born the Speaker a great Respect, was as much concern'd at his Behaviour, as any Man, and with great Freedom told him, "How much he was fallen in the Esteem of all good Men, and that the King cou'd not but be highly displeas'd with him; and then discourst upon the Matter of that Vote. Tho' he was ignorant how much the King did at that time trust Mr. *Hyde*, he was not ignorant that his Majesty had a good Opinion of him; so that as soon as he had enter'd upon his Discourse, to which he was very attentive, he went to the Door, (they being by themselves in this Study at *Exeter-House*) and finding some Persons in the next Room, he order'd 'em to withdraw, and locking both the Door of that Room and his Study, he begun,

"with giving Mr. *Hyde* many Thanks for his Friend-  
 "ship, which he cou'd not more manifestly esteem  
 "than by using that Freedom again with him, which  
 "he design'd to do. Then he bewailed his own  
 "Condition; and that he had been advanc'd from  
 "the Common-Pleas, where he was acquainted with  
 "the Business and the Persons he had to deal withal,  
 "to an higher Office, which required him to deal  
 "with another Sort of Men, and in Affairs to which  
 "he was a Stranger, nor had he one Friend among  
 "'em, with whom he cou'd confer upon any Diffi-  
 "culty that occur'd to him.

He spoke then of the unhappy State of the King's  
 Affairs, how much he was betray'd by those about him;  
 and with the highest Indignation against the Proceed-  
 ings of the Parliament; and said, "They wou'd never  
 "do this, if they were not resolved to do more; he  
 "foresaw it could not be long before a War wou'd  
 "break out in the Nation; and of what Importance  
 "in that Season the great Seal should be with his  
 "Majesty; that no Man should be more willing to  
 "perish with and for his Majesty; the Prospect of  
 "which Necessity had made him comply so much  
 "with that Party; that there had lately been a Con-  
 "sultation, whether in Regard the King should send  
 "for him, or the great Seal be taken from him, it  
 "were not advisable to keep the Seal in some secure  
 "Place, which the Keeper should always receive  
 "upon Occasion, they having no Intent to disoblige  
 "him; the Knowledge of which had induced him  
 "to Vote, as he did in the late Debate, and by that  
 "Compliance, which he knew wou'd give the King  
 "very ill Impressions of him, he had gained so much  
 "Credit with them, that he should be able to pre-  
 "serve the Seal in his own Hands, 'till his Majesty  
 "shou'd demand it, and then he wou'd be ready to  
 "wait on the King with it.

With



Within a few Days after, the King sent an Order to the Lord *Falkland*, to demand the Seal from him, in which his Majesty was very positive, tho' he was not resolv'd to whom he shou'd commit it. His Majesty wish'd em, (for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. *Hyde* were always included in such References) to consider, whether they thought the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, or Mr. *Selden*, were the most proper.

The first appeared to be as timorous a Man as the present Keeper, and was thought unfit for that Charge, in a Time of so much Confusion; tho' otherwise he was of great Abilities, and a sound Integrity. They did not distrust Mr. *Selden's* Affections to the King, but they knew him so well, that they concluded he would positively refuse the Place, if it were offered.

Hereupon Mr. *Hyde* told 'em of his Conference with the Keeper, and what Professions he had made, and was very positive he wou'd punctually perform it, and therefore propos'd, That when they sent their Opinions of the other Persons, they wou'd advise his Majesty, rather to write kindly to the Lord Keeper to bring the Seal to his Majesty, than send for the Seal it self, and lay him aside. To this, after some Doubts, whether the Keeper would comply with his Majesty's Commands, the other two consented, and their Letters were dispatch'd away that very Night.

The King was moved with their Reasons, and glad to find Mr. *Hyde* so confident of the Keeper, but still continued doubtful, and resolved to send both for him and the Seal, upon a *Saturday* in the Afternoon, because then there cou'd be no Notice taken of it 'till *Monday*. Mr. *Hyde* continued to visit the Keeper frequently, and finding him firm to his Purpose, and of Opinion, in Regard of the

high Temper the House was in, that it cou'd not be delayed, he told him, "Next Week he might expect a Messenger; that he wou'd once more wait upon him, and tell him the Day, and would then set out himself before him for York; with which he was much pleased.

On the *Saturday* following, about three in the Afternoon, Mr. *Elliot*, a Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, came to the Keeper, and deliver'd into his own Hands a Letter from his Majesty, wherein he required him, with many Expressions of Kindness and Esteem, "To make hast to him; and if his Indisposition (for he was often afflicted with Gravel and Sharpness of Urine) would not suffer him to make that Speed the Occasion required, he shou'd deliver the Seal to the Person who gave him the Letter, and proceed in his own Journey, as his Health wou'd permit him. The Keeper was surprized with the Messenger, whom he did not like, but much more when he knew he was privy to the Contents of the Letter; and when he demanded the Seal of him with much Bluntness, as he was no polite Man, he told him, "He would deliver it into no Hands but the King's; but reflecting how hazardous it wou'd be to carry himself so long a Journey, that if he shou'd be pursued he shou'd be overtaken, and the King be disappointed of the Seal, which he had Reason so much to rely upon, and that his Misfortune wou'd be entirely charged to his own Fault and Infidelity, (which I verily believe he abominated from his Heart) and the only way of Prevention was, to deliver the Seal to the Person the King had entrusted to receive it. And so without discovering any thing of his own Purpose to him, he deliver'd him the Seal, and he with wonderful Expedition, presented it into his

to the King, who was then at York. Ma-

Majesty's own Hands, who was highly pleased, both with it and the Messenger.

The Keeper pretended that Evening to be indisposed, that no Body might be admitted to speak with him; and then sending for Serjeant *Lee*, who waited upon the Seal, He told him freely, "He was resolv'd the next Morning to go to the King, who had sent for him; that he knew not for his own Part how he shou'd perform the Journey; therefore he put himself entirely into his Hands; that he shou'd order his own Horses to be ready, with no more than his own Groom to attend them, and that he wou'd disclose it to no other Person. The honest Serjeant chearfully undertook the Business; and so sending the Horses before, the Keeper very early in the Morning got into his Coach, and they were no sooner out of Town, than he, the Serjeant, and one Groom, mounted, and rode so far that Day, it being about the Beginning of *June*, that before the End of the 3<sup>d</sup> he kissed the King's Hands at *York*. *Sunday* pass'd without any Notice being taken of his Absence, but when it was known on *Monday* Morning, how, and when he had left his House, both Houses were in a very great Confusion; they who thought they had the greatest Interest in him, were half mad with Shame.

However they thought he was got too far from them before the Lords met; yet they issued out such a Warrant for the apprehending him, as if he had been a most notorious Felon or Murderer. These Particulars are the more circumstantially set down, out of Justice to the Memory of that honourable Person; and to remove the Scandal raised at that Time against him, by the Person who was sent for, and received the Seal, which, as he wou'd have it believed, his Manhood ravish'd from the unwilling Keeper: This Report, tho' never so impossible, found



found at that time too much Credit, and is therefore cleared by this genuin Relation of the Matter of Fact.

The Trouble and Distraction, which at that time fate upon their Brows, was visibly great, in so much that the Earl of *Northumberland* moved the same Day, "That a Committee might be appointed to consider, "how there might be an Accommodation between "the King and his People; which was done accordingly.

But the unbroken Spirit of the House of Commons quickly exhaled that Temper, and disposed 'em to new Warmth and Vigor, so that to show how little they apprehended the King's Power and Authority, tho' supported by his having the great Seal with him, both Houses agreed, *May* 26. upon a new Remonstrance to the People; which, together with the former, were answer'd by his Majesty, and both the one and the other served to convince the World, what they were now to expect from the House of Commons, who in this second Declaration laid Foundations, upon which all that they had done, or hereafter shou'd think fit to do, wou'd be well justified; the Irregularity and Monstruousness of which Principles found little Opposition, even because they were so monstrous and irregular: Very many thought it equally dangerous to be at those Consultations, as to consent to the Conclusions; so that the Members of both Houses in great Numbers absenting themselves, there were usually present not above a fifth Part of their just Number in the House of Commons, and not above twelve or thirteen in the House of Lords, in Debates of the highest Consequence.

The King in the mean time lived at *York* in a much more Princely Manner, than he cou'd have done near *London*, so great a Train and Resort was there

there of the Gentry and Nobility with him; yet he made no other Use of their Presence at the present, that to have so many the more, and the more credible Witnesses of his Counsels and Carriage; and to undeceive the People, by his plain Answers to all the Scandals and Reproaches with which they loaded him, and convince them, how far the Number and Quality of those, who thought, or appeared to think otherwise, was from what they might conceive it to be. And it can't be denied, but the People were every Day weaned from their biggotted Reverence to the two Houses; and grew sensible of their Duty to the King, and the Incroachments made upon the Regal Dignity.

On the other side the Houses remitted nothing of their usual Heat, but proceeded with extraordinary Sharpness against those Members who were gone to the King, proclaiming some by Name, "To be Enemies to the Kingdom; and adjudging Nine Peers together, "To be incapable of sitting again in "Parliament, whilst this should continue: And the House of Commons imposed upon every one of their own Members, who were gone to the King, or being absent, were thought well affected to his Service, 100 *l.* a piece.

Yet, lest this Proceeding should draw 'em back to disturb and cross their Counsels, they provided, "None of 'em (tho' they had paid the Fine) shou'd "sit again, 'till, being examined in a Committee, "they had given the House Satisfaction in the Cause "of their Absence. For they well knew, if the Members of both Houses should be obliged to a strict and regular Attendance, they should never be able to accomplish their mischievous Designs.

Then they proceeded on their great Business of the Militia, causing those, who refused to obey 'em,  
or

or published the King's Proclamation against their Proceedings, to be sent for as Delinquents.

Proposi-  
tions and  
Orders  
of both  
Houses for  
bringing in  
Mony and  
Plate.

And that they might be as well able to pay an Army, as they found they were to raise one, on the Tenth of *June* (it will be necessary to remember the Time, that it may be better stated who took up the defensive Arms) they published Propositions, "For the bringing in of Horse, Men, and Arms, "for the maintaining of the publick Peace; the Reasons whereof they declared to be a Design in the "King to war against his Parliament; that he had "already levy'd Forces both of Horse and Foot; that "with an high and forcible Hand he protected Delinquents, suffering those Messengers the Houses "had sent for 'em, to be abused, beaten, and imprisoned, and so the Orders of Parliament, the "highest Court of Justice in the Realm, were not "obeyed. Therefore they declared, whosoever "wou'd bring in any Proportion of Mony or Plate, "or subscribe to furnish and maintain any Number "of Horse, Horsemen, and Arms, for the Defence "of the King and Parliament, it shou'd be held a "good and acceptable Service to the Common-wealth; "and such Persons shou'd be re-paid their Mony "with Interest of 8*l. per Cent*, for which the publick "Faith stood engaged; and they appointed the *Guild-Hall* for the Place, where this Plate or Mony, &c. "should be brought in: And lastly, to encourage others, the Members of both Houses appointed a "solemn Day to subscribe themselves; which they performed very liberally.

Most of those who thought it unlawful to be present at such impious Consultations, withdrew before the Day came, or absented themselves then. But many were bold enough to be present, and resolutely refuse what they thought they cou'd not with Honesty consent to. Sir *Henry Killigrew* among the rest



rest being called upon, told 'em, " If there were  
" Occasion he would provide a good Horse, and a  
" good Sword, and made no doubt but he should  
" find a good Cause. But within a few Days both  
he, and whoever else were known to refuse, found  
their Safety consisted in their Absence, so high was  
the Animosity against 'em both within and without  
the Walls. And I was assured afterwards by a Gentleman of good Quality, that he was advised privately by one of the other Faction, who still retained some Kindness for him, " To quit the Town, lest  
" the Boys in the Streets knock'd out his Brains.  
The next Day after these Propositions they order'd  
further, " All Horses fit for Service, or great Saddles, that should be carried towards the North  
" Parts, without the Direction of the two Houses,  
" should be seized and secured.

It was then extremely wonder'd at, and will without Doubt be hereafter censured, that the King, notwithstanding all these Invasions, hitherto forbore putting himself into a Posture of Defence: He had a great Appearance of the Nobility, and not only of those who had walked all along according to the Rules prescribed by Law to them; but of others, who had concurr'd at first, out of Passion or Peevishness, (to say no worse) in all their violent Votes and Actions; yet still they were rather an Ornament to his Court, than any great Advantage to his Counsels; every Man thinking it Merit enough in him, if he absented himself from the Company and Place where all the Mischief was laid; and that if he kept himself negatively innocent, 'twas all he owed his King and his Country.

A long unactive Peace had taught the Nation to abhor the Thoughts of a Civil War, and to think, that vigorously to prepare against it was to provoke it; and there were very few of those great Lords  
that

that attended his Majesty, who did not declare  
 “ That whatever Shews the Parliament made, in  
 “ hopes to shake his Majesty’s Constancy, yet they  
 “ would never break out into a War; and if they  
 “ should, the People would unanimously declare for  
 “ the King, whose Safety consisted in his not pro-  
 “ viding for it. Whereas if he levied Forces, the  
 “ Parliament would insinuate, it was to overthrow  
 “ Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Peo-  
 “ ple. They who had another Judgment, and  
 could have spoke more Reason, thought it not safe  
 to unfold themselves, but in the King’s own Ear;  
 there being, in the great Council of the Peers, some  
 who were not the best Counsel-Keepers, and others  
 who were conceived to be Spies upon the rest; but  
 that which made the Attempt of raising Forces ut-  
 terly unreasonable was, that the King had no possi-  
 ble Convenience of Arms or Munition but from *Hol-*  
*land*, from whence he daily expected a Supply, and  
 in the mean time, let his Provocations be what they  
 would, he must sit down and bear it patiently.

In the mean while, for a ground of further Pro-  
 ceedings upon Occasion, the King desired the Peers  
 in Council to deliver in Writing, what Affronts and  
 Violence had been offer’d ’em at *London*, which  
 made their Presence in the great Council of the  
 Kingdom both unsafe and dishonourable; which  
 they the more readily did, for that the *London*  
 Pamphlets had already stigmatized ’em, as De-  
 fectors of the Parliament, and Traitors to the Li-  
 berty of their Country. They set down there-  
 fore, in an Instrument drawn up and agreed upon  
 between them, “ The Violence offer’d to particular  
 “ Persons, the Menaces of the Rabble at the Door,  
 “ when they had a mind any extravagant Thing  
 “ should pass; the Breach of the standing Rules and  
 “ Orders of Parliament whilst Matters were in De-  
 bate,

“bate, and refuming Matters in a thin House, and  
 “reverfing, waving, or contradicting Refolutions  
 “made in a full one; and laftly, Mr. *Hollis*’s de-  
 “manding at the Bar, the Names of thofe Lords  
 “who refused to confent to the Militia, whilft the  
 “Tumults without threatned all thofe who diffent-  
 “ed from it. This they figned, and deliver’d to  
 the King: And yet (to fhew what a Want there  
 was of a neceffary Spirit and Refolution) many of  
 ’em befought his Majefty the next Day by no means  
 to publifh that Paper, fome of them declaring, that  
 if he fhould they would difown it. So that an im-  
 portant Evidence, which at that time might have  
 been of great ufe to the King, was render’d inef-  
 fektual to his Service: And fo it continued a Secret  
 to this Day.

To make fome Attonement for this Want of  
 Mettle, (as it was nothing elfe, for they were ftill  
 moft affectionate to his Majefty’s Intereft) and that  
 the World might fee good Men were united to affift  
 his Majefty in vindication of the Laws, in oppositi-  
 on to others who were united againft both, upon a  
 Declaration of his Majefty’s in Council, where all  
 the Peers were prefent, “That as he would exact  
 “no other Obedience from them than what was war-  
 “ranted by the Laws of the Land, fo he expected  
 “they fhould yield no Obedience to any Commands  
 “that were not legal, or impofed by any other:  
 “That he would protect all thofe as fhould refufe  
 “any fuch Command, whether they proceeded from  
 “Votes and Orders of both Houfes, or any other  
 “way. That his Majefty would defend the true  
 “Proteftant Religion, the legal Liberties of the  
 “Subject, and juft Privileges of Parliament, which  
 “he would make the Standard of their Obedience  
 “to him. That he would not engage them, or a-  
 “ny of them in a War againft the Parliament, ex-  
 “cept

*His Maje-  
 sty’s Decla-  
 ration to  
 the Lords  
 attending  
 him, Jun.  
 13. 1642.*



cept it were for his necessary Defence and Safety,  
 against such as invaded his Majesty, or any that adhered to them. Upon which all the Peers engaged themselves, "Not to submit to any Orders or Commands whatsoever not authorized by the Laws of the Land, and to defend his Majesty in every lawful Respect against all Persons and Power whatsoever. That they would stand by the true established Protestant Religion, the lawful Liberties of the Subject, and the Privileges of his Majesty and his Parliament; and lastly, they obliged themselves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever, relating to the Militia, that had not the Royal Assent.

*The Promise of the Lords and others thereupon.*

This was Printed, and carefully dispersed over the Kingdom, with the Consent and Names of the Subscribers; bearing Date at York, Jun. 13. 1642. Two Days after this, his Majesty conceiving the false Rumors spread abroad might induce many to believe he intended to raise a War against his Parli-

ament, "He profess'd in Council, and said, he declared to all the World, that he ever had an Abhorrence to such Designs, and desired all present in Council to declare if they had not frequently heard his Professions to the contrary. Whether they were not fully convinc'd that his Majesty had no such Intentions, but that all his Endeavours aim'd at a sure Settlement of the Protestant Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

*His Majesty's Declaration, Jun. 15. disavowing any Designs of a War.*

Whereupon it was unanimously agreed by all the Peers and Counsellors present, to sign a Paper in these Words.

"We whose Names are under-written, in Obedience to his Majesty's Desire, and out of the Duty which we owe his Majesty's Honour, and

“ to Truth, being here upon the Place, and Wit-  
 “ nesses of his Majesty's frequent and earnest Decla-  
 “ rations, and Professions of his abhorring all De-  
 “ signs of making War upon his Parliament, and not  
 “ seeing any Colour of Preparations, or Counsels,  
 “ that might reasonably beget the Belief of any such  
 “ Designs, do profess before God, and testifie to all  
 “ the World, That we are fully persuaded his Ma-  
 “ jesty hath no such Intention; but that all his En-  
 “ deavours tend to the firm and constant Settlement  
 “ of the true Protestant Religion, the just Privileges  
 “ of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the  
 “ Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

This was subscrib'd by

Lord Littleton, Lord	Lord Grey of Ruthin.
Keeper.	Lord Pawlet.
Marquiss of Hertford.	Lord Savil.
Earl of Southampton.	Lord Dunsmore.
Earl of Devonshire.	Sir P. Wich, Comptroller.
Earl of Clare.	Sir J. Colepepper, Ch. Exche.
Earl of Monmouth.	Earl of Lindsey.
Earl of Carnarvon.	Earl of Bath.
Lord Willoughby of E-	Earl of Dorset.
resby.	Earl of Northampton.
Lord Newark.	Earl of Bristol.
Lord Rich.	Earl of Barkshire.
Lord Coventry.	Earl of Dover.
Lord Capel.	Lord Mowbray and Mar-
Lord Falkland.	travers.
Duke of Richmond.	Lord Howard of Charle-
Earl of Cumberland.	ton.
Earl of Salisbury.	Lord Lovelace.
Earl of Cambridge.	Lord Mohun.
Earl of Westmorland.	Lord Seymour.
Earl of Rivers.	Secretary Nicholds.
Earl of Newport.	Lord Ch. Just. Banks.

C c

This

This Testimony was Printed and Publish'd by his Majesty's Order, who about this time called some Judges and Lawyers of Eminency together, and upon their Advice issued out a Declaration concerning the Militia, asserting "the Right of the Crown in granting Commissions of Array, for the better Government thereof; and at the same time dispatch'd those Commissions into all Counties, "expressly forbidding any Obedience to be paid to the Ordinance for the Militia by both Houses, under the Penalty of High-Treason. This only exasperated the Paper-Combats in Declarations, each Party insisting the Law was on their side; to which the People yielded Obedience, as they saw it for their Conveniency: And many believed if the King had applied himself to the old known way of Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, it had been more beneficial for his Service; for the People having never heard of a Commission of Array, were easily blown up to a Jealousie by the specious Glosses and Suggestions of the Houses.

Besides, some Men well-affectioned to the Crown, and averse to the extravagant Carriage of the House of Commons, could not conceal their Aversion to the Commission of Array, as a thing unwarrantable by Law. Among the rest Mr. *Selden* argued with much Sharpness against it, and insisted upon the ill Consequences that might attend a Submission to it; and so easily persuaded the House not to approve of a Proceeding, which they knew was design'd to lessen their Authority. At this his Majesty was very much concern'd, having always esteemed Mr. *Selden* as a Man well disposed to his Services; and the Lord *Falkland*, with his Majesty's Approbation, writ him a friendly Letter upon that Score by way of Exposition, which he answer'd frankly, like a Man who believed himself in the Right; and after he had briefly summ'd



summ'd up some of those Arguments he had used against it, which he said no one could answer, he as frankly inveighed against the Ordinance for the Militia; acknowledging he had been the more inclined to argue as he did against the Commission, that he might more freely oppose the Ordinance, for the Consideration of which a Day was then appointed, and which he doubted not but he should overthrow, having less Reason to support it. But in this he found himself mistaken; his Reasons were good when they serv'd to support their Designs, but were very weak whenever they opposed their Resolutions.

These Paper-Skirmishes made neither Side more inclinable to the other, but drew both on nearer to Action. The King had sent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in which he assured them of his good Wishes to the Peace of the Kingdom; and therefore required them, as they tender'd the Charter of their City, and their own particular Happiness, not to furnish any Mony, Horses or Plate, according to the Houses Propositions, whereby, under pretence of raising a Guard for the Parliament, Forces would be levied and employed against his Majesty. The Houses upon this Published a Declaration to the City, "That tho' his Majesty *The Parliament's* protested his Desires were for the Publick Peace, *Declaration on to the City, upon a Letter from the King to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.* yet they ought not to depend upon it; since in Words and Actions it appeared he intended to use Force against those who obeyed the Ordinance of the Militia, and had likewise a Design upon *Hull*; and they declared, that whatsoever was done in either of those Particulars, they should look upon as done against the Parliament. They told 'em, That all that was dear to Men of Conscience or Honour, was like to be buried in the general Calamity and Confusion of the Kingdom; through the malignant Designs of some about his Majesty:

“ And therefore they forbid all Officers to publish  
 “ that Paper, as they would Answer their Contempt  
 “ to the Parliament, the Protection of which they  
 “ might be assured of, for whatever they did by  
 “ their Advice or Persuasion.

*The King's  
 Reply.*

To this his Majesty reply'd, “ That since they  
 “ had usurped the Supream Power to themselves,  
 “ he wonder'd they had not assumed the Supream  
 “ Style too, and directed their very new Declarati-  
 “ on To their Trusty and Well-beloved their Subjects  
 “ of the City of *London*: For 'twas too gross to  
 “ persuade 'em to take up Arms against his Person  
 “ under Colour of being loving Subjects to his Of-  
 “ fice, and to destroy his Person that they might  
 “ preserve the King. He thank'd 'em for explain-  
 “ ing to the World, that his Design of warring  
 “ gainst his Parliament was pretended by them to  
 “ mean no more, but his Resolution not to submit  
 “ to the high Injustice and Indignity of the Ord-  
 “ nance for the Militia, and the Business about  
 “ *Hull*. He said, he never concealed his Resoluti-  
 “ ons in either of those Particulars, (he wish'd they  
 “ would be as plain with him) but always had an-  
 “ did now declare, that the pretended Ordinance  
 “ was inconsistent with the very Constitution of the  
 “ Kingdom; and therefore he, and all his Subjects  
 “ were bound to oppose it.

“ That the keeping him out of *Hull* was an Act  
 “ of High-Treason, and the taking his Magazine  
 “ from him an Act of Violence; in both which Cases  
 “ his Majesty said he would have Justice, by the  
 “ Help of God and the Law, or perish in the At-  
 “ tempt: And if his good Subjects could possibly  
 “ believe he did in that make War against his Par-  
 “ liament, he did not doubt, however it should please  
 “ God to dispose of him in the Contention, but that  
 “ Justice of his Cause would at last prevail against  
 “ the War.

“those malignant Spirits, who had so mis-led and  
“corrupted the Understandings of his People.

When the World saw what Levies of Soldiers  
were so vigorously hasten'd under the Earl of *Essex*,  
they wonder'd the King made no other Preparati-  
ons towards an Army, than a single Troop of Guards,  
consisting of Gentlemen Volunteers, who wou'd be  
sure to quit that Troop when there shou'd be an  
Army. But the King had not at that Time any  
Provision necessary for an Army, nor was he secure  
of any Port, to which such Provision might safely  
be assign'd; nor had he Money sufficient for the Sup-  
port of his own Table for one Month. He impa-  
tiently attended the Arrival of all those Necessaries  
by the Care and Application of the Queen, who was di-  
rected to send 'em to *Newcastle*, which the Earl of  
that Name had just then by his Diligence secured  
to him.

The Queen found many Difficulties to struggle  
with; for tho' the Prince of *Orange* was earnestly  
disposed to the King's Service, and did all he cou'd  
to induce the States to interest themselves in his Ma-  
jesty's Quarrel, yet his Authority was much im-  
paired with the Vigour of his Body and Mind; and  
the States were so far from assisting the King, that  
they did him all the Mischief they cou'd. And  
the Parliament had so many Spies upon her Majesty,  
that it was no easie Matter for her to provide Arms  
and Ammunition, without their Notice of it, and  
of the Ways that were thought upon to transport  
them to the King.

Her Majesty, upon her Arrival in *Holland*, had  
retained a small Ship of 20. or 30. Guns, under se-  
veral Pretences, of which Captain *Sirraughen* the Com-  
mander, who was of approved Loyalty, made Use,  
when he afterwards had Orders from the Earl of  
“*Warwick* to return, and join the Fleet riding in the



*Downs*, 'till at last it was discern'd he had other Bu-  
siness and Commands, and was therefore watch'd by  
the rest of the Ships as an Enemy. This Vessel the  
Queen loaded with about 200 Barrels of Powder,  
2 or 3000 Arms, and 7 or 8 Field-Pieces. The Cap-  
tain was no sooner put to Sea, but the Commander  
of the Fleet in the *Downs* had Notice of it, and sent  
out 3 or 4 Ships that chased him, 'till they saw him  
enter the River *Humber*; then looking on the Ship  
as their own, they followed at leisure, thinking to  
drive it before 'em into their own Port of *Hull*, 'till  
with Shame and Anger they saw the Ship make in-  
to a narrow Creek out of *Humber*, leading some  
Miles into the Country above *Hull*, a Place the Cap-  
tain designed to arrive at from the Beginning: They  
quickly found their great Ships cou'd not enter that  
Passage, and so gave over the Chase, whilst the Cap-  
tain designedly run the Ship on Shoar towards *Bur-*  
*lington*, by which means the Arms, Ammunition  
and Artillery were quickly brought to *York*.

The King was well pleas'd to have the World be-  
lieve, that that Ship had brought a greater Propor-  
tion of Provisions than indeed it had; and there-  
fore, tho' it brought no Mony, which he expect-  
ed, he immediately granted Commissions to such  
Persons of Quality and Interest, as were able to com-  
ply with their Obligations, to raise Regiments of  
Horse and Foot. The Earl of *Lindsey*, a Person of  
great Courage and Honour, and one generally be-  
loved, was declared General of the Army; Sir *Jacob*  
*Ashley* Major-General of the Foot; the Gene-  
ralship of the Horse being reserved for Prince *Rupert*,  
who shortly after arrived.

And now the King resolv'd to do, what Men  
wonder'd he had neglected so long, which was to  
take the Admiralty into his own Hands. For that  
Ship of his own, in the Execution of his Com-  
mands

mands, shou'd be chased as an Enemy by his own Fleet, was represented so much to his Reproach and Dishonour in all Places, that he cou'd no longer defer it. He resolved therefore to revoke the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission, and send Sir *John Pennington*, who was then at *York*, to take Charge of the Fleet: And Letters were prepared, and signed by the King, to all the Captains, requiring them to follow Sir *John Pennington's* Order. And all this was transacted with as much Secrecy, that none but those few who were trusted, knew any thing of the Matter.

But Sir *John Pennington*, upon the King's Intimation of it to him, finding the Matter full of Difficulty, alledged, "That he stood upon ill Terms with the Parliament, that therefore his Motion towards the *Downs* wou'd immediately be observed, and proposed Sir *Robert Mansel* as a fitter Man. His Majesty imparting this Counsel to those he had made privy to his Designs, enter'd upon new Considerations; and concluded, "That Sir *Robert Mansel's* Age, (tho' his Courage and Integrity were beyond all Dispute) and the Accidents thereupon, would make the Expedition very hazardous, (he living then at *Greenwich*) and therefore the whole Dispatch was thus prepared. First a Revocation of the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission under the great Seal; of which there was a Duplicate, the one for his Lordship, the other for the Earl of *Warwick*. Then a particular Letter to every Captain in the Fleet, "Informing 'em of the Revocation of the Admiral's Patent, and consequently of the Determination of the Earl of *Warwick's* Commission, (whom likewise he forbid meddling any further in that Charge) and commanding them no longer to follow either of their Orders, but repair with the Fleet

"Fleet to *Burlington Bay* in *Yorkshire*, where they  
 "shou'd receive his Majesty's further Pleasure,

All things being accordingly prepared, one of his Majesty's Pages was intrusted with what immediately concerned the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Edward Villiers*, with the whole Dispatch relating to the Fleet; the former being intrusted, not to make such haste, but that the other might reach the *Downs* at least as soon as he shou'd be at *London*; and Mr. *Villiers* was order'd to visit the Earl of *Warwick* in the last Place, that his Activity might not divert the Seamen from their Obedience to his Majesty. And certainly if the Resolution had been executed, his Majesty had again been Master of a great many of his Ships. But by that time one of the Messengers was dispatch'd to *London*, and on his Journey thither, Sir *John Pennington*, upon second Thoughts, offer'd himself to go and take the Charge of the Fleet, which changed the Form of the Letters to the several Captains, requiring them only to follow such Orders as they shoud receive from Sir *John Pennington*; who thought it improper to go with Mr. *Villiers*, but by him sent a Letter to Sir *Henry Palmer*, as likewise did his Majesty, being an Officer of the Navy, living by the *Downs*, "Requiring him immediately to go aboard the Admiral; that he himself wou'd set out when Mr. *Villiers* did, but take a further and more private Way. Mr. *Villiers*, lest the Page should arrive too soon at *London*, slept not 'till he came to Sir *Henry Palmer*, who being an infirm Man, and surprized at the Command, (tho' of unquestion'd Loyalty to his Majesty) cou'd not make that Expedition aboard, as was necessary for the Service. However Mr. *Villiers* delivered his several Letters to the Captains, and without Doubt, had Sir *John Pennington* been present, the greatest Part of the Fleet had been preserved



to his Majesty. But the Captains, who gave all the Demonstrations of Duty and Submission, expecting Orders from Sir *John*, and he again waiting for such an Account from Sir *Henry Palmer*, as might encourage him to come to the Ships, the whole Business was disappointed by this unfortunate Delay; for the other Gentleman having deliver'd the King's Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and he, with all Shows of Duty and Submission, obeying his Majesty, tho' earnestly press'd by the Houses to continue in his Office, they agreed to pass an Ordinance, to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet, with as full Authority as he had before received from the Earl of *Northumberland*. Which Ordinance they dispatch'd away by a Member of their own, who arrived the next Morning, after Mr. *Villiers* had delivered his Majesty's Letters. Sir *John Pennington* in the mean time neither appearing himself, nor sending any further Advice.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who hitherto, without any Declaration of disobeying his Majesty, had only applied himself to the confirming those he thought true to his Party, and carefully to observe the rest; but being now thus arm'd, as he expected he shou'd be, summon'd all the Captains to a Council on Board his Ship; which Summons all obeyed, except Captain *Slingsby* and Captain *Wake*, who were therefore seized by their own Men, and carried to the Earl, who sent 'em up Prisoners to the Parliament.

The King found it high time now to do more than issue out Declarations; and therefore in the first Place he sent the Earl of *Newcastle* to take the Government of that Town upon him, that he might have one Harbour to resort to in his Kingdom, which was a timely Care, for if it had been omitted but very few Days, it had been seized by the Parliament, who had then given Directions to that Purpose. After

ter

*The King's  
Proclama-  
tion from  
Beverly.*

ter that he began to encrease and form his Train into a more useful Posture than it yet was, and then summoning the Train'd-Bands of the County to attend him at *Beverly*, within four Miles of *Hull*, he issued out a Proclamation, containing in brief, "Sir *John Hotham's* Rebellion; the Houses denying him Justice upon his Demand; their seizing his Fleet; "Sir *John Hotham's* hostile Acts upon the Inhabitants of *Hull*, and the neighbouring County; for which Reason he was resolv'd to reduce the same by Force; forbidding all Commerce with the said Town, whilst it persisted in Rebellion.

This Proclamation he sent likewise to both Houses, signifying further, "That before he made Use of Force, he thought fit once more to require the Delivery of it up to him, and then he would willingly admit of such Addresses, and return such Propositions, as might be proper to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, and heal the present Distractions. If this his gracious Invitation should be rejected, God and all good Men must judge between them: And appointed a Day, by which he would expect their Answer.

*The Votes  
of both  
Houses for  
an Army.*

They at *London* were no less busie, but before they had received his Majesty's Message, Voted on the 12th of *July* "That an Army should be rais'd for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of the Parliament and those that adhere to 'em. That the Earl of *Essex* should be their General. And that they would live and die by him. And having put themselves in this Posture of treating, the same Day they agreed upon a Petition, "To move the King to a good Agreement with his Parliament, for the Prevention of a Civil War: This was done to make People believe the Talk of an Army was only to frighten the King into more reasonable Concessions.

The

The Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, were dispatch'd away to *Beverly* with this Petition to the King, who no sooner hear'd of the raising an Army against him, than he was encounter'd by the Messengers of Peace, who reported publicly, "They had brought so absolute a Submission from the Parliament, that there was no Doubt of a firm and happy Peace. The Earl of *Holland*, upon presenting the Petition, made a short Speech to the King, telling him, "His blessed Father's Motto was, *Beati Pacifici*, and he hoped his Majesty wou'd continue it, since the two Houses aimed at nothing but his Majesty's Honour and Prosperity; and then read the Message aloud, which was to this Effect.

"That his Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, with much Sorrow perceive his Majesty, being incensed by many false Calumnies and Slanders, doth continue to raise Forces against them and other his peaceable and loyal Subjects, by main Strength to determine the Questions depending between him and his great Council, concerning the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom; that tho' they hold themselves bound, out of Duty to his Majesty and the Nation, to use all means of Defence and Protection thereof, yet they prostrate themselves at his Feet, beseeching him to forbear all Actions of War, and come nearer to his Parliament, whose sole Aims and Resolutions tend to the Defence and Advancement of Religion, his Royal Honour and Safety, and the Preservation of their Laws and Liberties. That his Majesty wou'd leave Delinquents to the due Course of Justice; and that nothing done or spoken in Parliament, or by any Person in Pursuance thereof, shou'd be questioned any where but in Parliament.

"That



"That they for their Parts were ready to relin-  
 "quish all the Preparations they had been forced to  
 "make for their Defence: That they were willing  
 "to leave the Town of *Hull* in the Condition it  
 "was in before Sir *John Hotham* drew any Forces  
 "into it, delivering the Magazine into the Tower  
 "of *London*. That they were ready to settle the  
 "Militia by a Bill, in such a Way as should be ho-  
 "nourable and safe for his Majesty, most agreeable  
 "to the Duty of Parliament, and effectual for the  
 "Good of the Kingdom; so that the Strength thereof  
 "be not employed against it self, nor that which  
 "ought to be for their Security, be applied to their  
 "Destruction; and that the Parliament, and all those  
 "who profess the Protestant Religion, both here and in  
 "*Ireland*, may not be exposed naked to the cruel  
 "Attempts of those, who are the profess'd and con-  
 "federated Enemies thereof. To which if his Ma-  
 "jesty wou'd henceforward concur, they doubted  
 "not, but they shou'd quickly make it appear to the  
 "World, that his Royal Honour and Greatness was  
 "much dearer to them, than their Lives and For-  
 "tunes.

The King told 'em, as soon as the Earl of *Holland* had  
 done reading the Petition, "That the Reproaches cast  
 "upon him by it, were not answerable to the Pro-  
 "fessions his Lordship had made; and that he was  
 "sorry they thought the ready Way to procure  
 "and preserve the Peace of the Kingdom was,  
 "to sully his Honour with so much Scandal. That  
 "he wou'd return a speedy Answer to their Petition,  
 "by which the World should discern, who desired  
 "Peace most; which accordingly he did the next Day,  
 "telling 'em, "He thought the sending the Earl  
 "of *Warwick*, with as many Ships as he thought  
 "fit, to assist Sir *John Hotham*, and carry away the  
 "Magazine; the chusing a General by both Houses  
 "of Parliament, for the Defence of those who had  
 "obeyed

"obeyed their Illegal Orders; their Declaration;  
 "that upon that score they would live and dye  
 "with the Earl of *Essex*, their General; and impri-  
 "soning the Lord Mayor for obeying his Majesty's  
 "lawful Commands, were but ill Prologues to their  
 "Petition; the End of which his Majesty had too  
 "much Cause to believe, was not to give any real  
 "Satisfaction to his Majesty, but to mis-lead and se-  
 "duce his People. He said, in Answer to their Pe-  
 "tition, That he challenged Envy and Malice to  
 "object one particular Proposition for the Preser-  
 "vation of God's true Religion, which his Majesty  
 "had refused to consent to; what himself had of-  
 "ten made for the Advancement thereof, appear'd in  
 "many of his Messages and Declarations. What  
 "Regard hath been to his Honour and Safety, when  
 "he hath been driven from some of his Houses,  
 "and kept from other of his Towns by Force, and  
 "what Endeavours have been used to arm all his  
 "Subjects against him, is so evident, that his Maje-  
 "sty is confident he can't suffer by their general Im-  
 "putations, it's sufficient the World knows what he  
 "hath granted, and what he hath denied.

"For the Forces his Majesty hath raised, and  
 "the Preparations he is making for War, all Men  
 "know what is done that way is but in order to  
 "his own Defence. All the World knows his Ma-  
 "jesty was driven from *Whitehal* for the Safety of  
 "his Life. That both Houses of Parliament raised  
 "a Guard to themselves by their own Authority;  
 "usurped an unlawful Power, by their pretended  
 "Ordinance, over the whole Militia of the King-  
 "dom, without and against his Majesty's Consent;  
 "took Possession of the Town, Fort, and Magazine  
 "of *Hull*, into which Sir *John Horham* by Force of  
 "Arms denied his Majesty's Entrance in Person.  
 "And all this while his Majesty had no other At-  
 "ten-

"tendance than his own Menial Servants. Upon  
 "which the Duty and Affection of this Country  
 "prompted his Subjects here to provide a small  
 "Guard for his own Person; which was no sooner  
 "done, but a Vote passed, of his Majesty's Intenti-  
 "on to raise a War against his Parliament, which  
 "God knows his Heart abhorreth. His Ships were  
 "taken from him, and committed to the Custody  
 "of the Earl of *Warwick*, who presumes under that  
 "Power to usurp to himself the Sovereignty of the  
 "Sea, to chase, fright, and imprison such of his  
 "good Subjects, as desire to obey his lawful Com-  
 "mands.

"Let all the World now judge who begun this  
 "War. Whence the Fears and Jealousies of the  
 "Petitioners have proceeded; hath never been di-  
 "scovered; the Dangers they have brought upon  
 "his Subjects are too evident; what those are they  
 "have prevented no Man knows. And therefore  
 "his Majesty can't but look upon that Charge, as  
 "the boldest and most scandalous hath been yet laid  
 "to him; that his necessary Provision made for his  
 "own Safety and Defence, is to over-rule the Judg-  
 "ment and Advice of his Parliament, and by Force  
 "to determine the Questions there depending con-  
 "cerning the Government and Liberty of the King-  
 "dom. If no other Force had been raised but by  
 "his Majesty, this Misunderstanding had never  
 "been.

"For the Forces about *Hull*, his Majesty will  
 "remove them when he hath obtained the End for  
 "which they were brought thither; and as for his  
 "coming nearer his Parliament, he hath express'd  
 "himself so fully in that Point already, so particu-  
 "larly avowed a real Fear of his Safety, upon such  
 "Instances as cannot be answered, that he hath rea-  
 "son to take himself somewhat neglected, that since



“ upon so manifest Reasons it is not safe for his Majesty to come near them, both Houses will not come nearer his Majesty.

“ For the leaving Delinquents to the due Course of Justice, he is most assured there hath been no Shelter to any such, if the Law be the measure of Delinquency; and for the Manner of Proceeding against Delinquents, his Majesty will proceed against those who have no Privilege of Parliament, or in such Cases where no Privilege is to be allowed, as he shall be advised by his learned Council, according to the known Rules of the Law; it being unreasonable he should be compelled to proceed against those who have violated the known and undoubted Law, only before them who have directed such Violation.

“ Having said thus much, his Majesty, out of a Princely Love, Tenderness, and Compassion of his People, is graciously pleased once more to propose, and require,

“ That his Town of *Hull* be immediately delivered up to him, which being done, (tho’ his Majesty hath been provoked by the unheard of Insolencies of Sir *John Hotham*, in burning and drowning the Country, seizing his Wine and other Provisions of his House, telling his Servant whom he sent to require them, that it came to him by Providence, and he would keep it, threatening him, or any other should again repair to *Hull* about it, and the like) his Majesty, to show his earnest Desire of Peace, for which he will dispence with his own Honour, and how far he is from desire of Revenge, will grant a free and general Pardon to all Persons within that Town.

“ That his Majesty’s Magazine taken from him at *Hull*, be put into such Hands as he shall appoint.

“ That

“ That the Navy be forthwith delivered into the  
 “ Hands of those he hath appointed for the Govern-  
 “ ment thereof,

“ That all Armies, Levies, and Provisions for a  
 “ War, made by Consent of both Houses, (by whose  
 “ Example his Majesty hath been forced to make  
 “ some Preparation) be immediately laid down, and  
 “ the pretended Ordinance for the Militia disavow-  
 “ ed. All which his Majesty may as lawfully de-  
 “ mand as to live, and can with no more Justice be  
 “ denied him, than his Life may be taken from  
 “ him.

“ These being done, and the Parliament Ad-  
 “ journ'd to a safe and secure Place, his Majesty pro-  
 “ mises in the Presence of God, that he will in-  
 “ stantly lay down all the Force he hath raised, and  
 “ discharge all his future and intended Levies: And  
 “ desires all Differences may be freely debated in a  
 “ Parliamentary way; whereby the Law may reco-  
 “ ver its due Reverence, the Subject his just Liber-  
 “ ty, and the Parliaments themselves their full Vi-  
 “ gour and Estimation, and so the whole Kingdom  
 “ a blessed Peace, Quiet and Prosperity.

“ If these Propositions shall be rejected, his Maje-  
 “ sty doubts not of the Protection of Almighty God,  
 “ and the ready Assistance and Concurrence of his  
 “ good Subjects; and if the Preservation of the Pro-  
 “ testant Religion, the Defence of the Liberties and  
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, the Dignity and Freedom  
 “ of Parliament, and the Recovery and Relief of  
 “ the bleeding and miserable *Ireland*, be equally pre-  
 “ cious to the Petitioners as they are to his Majesty,  
 “ there will be a chearful and speedy Consent to what  
 “ he hath now proposed; and of this his Majesty  
 “ expects a full and positive Answer by *Wednesday*,  
 “ the 27th of this Instant *July*; till when he shall  
 “ not make any Attempt of Force upon *Hull*. And

“ in

“ in the mean time expects no Supply of Men be  
“ put into it, or any of his Majesty's Goods be tak-  
“ en from thence.

When the Petition from the two Houses was read, the whole Court express'd a wonderful Indignation against it, and thought the King in his Answer had not enough resent'd their intollerable Indignities, or appear'd sensible enough of their Insolence and U-  
surpation; yet the Thought of a War was so much  
abhorred, and Men were so fond of every Expedi-  
ent which was pretended for Peace, that by the next  
Morning these busie Messengers for the Parliament  
made many believe, “ That the King's Answer was  
“ too sharp, and would provoke the Houses, who  
“ were naturally passionate, to go on in the violent  
“ Ways they were in; whereas they were confident,  
“ if he would remit something of that Severity in  
“ his Language, his Majesty should have all the Sa-  
“ tisfaction he propos'd; And this the Earl of *Hol-*  
*land* privately offer'd to undertake. And this some  
gave so great heed to, that they earnestly importu-  
ned the King “ to return by the Messengers only  
“ the Matter of his own Propositions in a soft and  
“ gentle Language, without the Preamble, or any  
“ mention of the Provocations the Parliament had  
“ given him, and that he would take from 'em the  
“ Answer he had deliver'd them the Night before.  
But his Majesty replied, “ He had a long time u-  
“ sed 'em with all Imaginable Lenity and Compli-  
“ ance of Words, which was so far from working  
“ upon 'em, that their Arrogance encreased; and  
“ made 'em write in so high a Dialect, as if they  
“ were Sovereigns, and he were subject to their Ju-  
“ risdiction, and he did not know but it might les-  
“ sen the Reverence of the People towards him.  
“ That this which they call'd a Petition, contain'd  
“ a peremptory Justification of all they had done,  
D d “ and



“ and as peremptory a Threatning of whatever they  
 “ could do; and therefore, if he should now recede  
 “ from his Answer, which had been narrowly con-  
 “ sider’d by all the Peers in Council, he should  
 “ give Encouragement to new Attempts, and cool  
 “ the Zeal his Friends had for his Service; who  
 “ would not think it safe to raise themselves to an  
 “ Indignation on his behalf, when he appeared so  
 “ lightly touch’d with his own Sufferings: That  
 “ he could not reasonably depend upon the Earl of  
 “ *Holland*, who had so abominably deceiv’d him in  
 “ other Matters, which were entirely in his own  
 “ Power to have performed.

“ He said, He never had consented to any one  
 “ thing, since the Beginning of the Parliament, which  
 “ had been prejudicial to him, at the doing whereof he  
 “ had not been solemnly promis’d, by those of great-  
 “ er Interest than the Earl of *Holland*, that he shou’d  
 “ receive no Damage from it, and yet he always  
 “ found himself mistaken; and therefore he resolv’d  
 “ to rely upon God Almighty; and positively re-  
 “ fused to make the least Alteration in his Answer.  
 And so the Messengers departed, leaving the Court  
 and Country worse affected than they found it,  
 branding those they found were not to be ruled by  
 their Professions and Promises, as the Authors of a  
 Civil War.

From that time the Earl of *Holland* lost his natu-  
 ral Temper and Gentleness of Disposition, and grew  
 exasperated against the King and his Ministers. Hav-  
 ing been much dissatisfied at *London*, where he  
 found the Earl of *Essex* (for whom he had no real  
 Love, but did indeed contemn) to draw all Men’s  
 Eyes towards him, he seriously intended to dis-  
 cover if there were any Sparks yet remaining in  
 the King’s Breast, which might be kindled into Af-  
 fection or Acceptance of his Duty, and hoped, if  
 he

he got any Credit, to make an Attonement for his former Transgressions; but when he found all former Inclinations were dead in his Majesty, and more than ordinary Prejudices had got Possession in their room, he return'd with a Rancour equal to the most furious, and heartily united in the suppressing that Power, from the Administration whereof he found himself totally excluded.

His Majesty resolv'd to make a short Progress into the Neighbour Counties, 'till he could have an Answer to his Propositions, and accordingly went to *Doncaster* the same Day the Messengers departed; the next to *Nottingham*, and so to *Liecester*, where he was received by the Train'd-Bands, and full Acclamations of the People; and from thence, according to his Appointment, return'd towards *Hull*, in Expectation of an Answer from the Parliament; which came two Days later than was appointed, with no other Ceremony than inclosed to one of the Secretaries to be presented to the King: In which they told him,

“ They could not for the present yield to his Ma-  
 “ jesty's Demands: The Reason why they took in-  
 “ to their Custody the Town of *Hull*, the Maga-  
 “ zine, and Navy; passed the Ordinance of the Mi-  
 “ litia, and made Preparations of Arms, was for the  
 “ Defence of Religion, the Safety of his Majesty's  
 “ Person, the Kingdom and Parliament, all which they  
 “ saw in very great Danger; from which when they  
 “ should be secured, they would draw their Forces out  
 “ of *Hull*, deliver the Magazine and Navy, and set-  
 “ tle the Militia by Bill, in a way most honourable  
 “ and safe for his Majesty, agreeable to the Duty  
 “ of Parliament, and beneficial to the Kingdom.  
 “ For the Adjourning the Parliament, they saw no  
 “ Reason why his Majesty should require it, since,  
 “ considering the full Assurance they had of the Loy-  
 “ alty

The Parli-  
 amment's  
 Answer,  
 Jul. 26.  
 1642.

“ alty and Fidelity of the City of *London*, and the  
 “ honest Care the Parliament would always have of  
 “ his Majesty, the usual Place would be as safe for  
 “ his Royal Person, as any. As for the laying down  
 “ of Arms, when the Causes which made ’em pro-  
 “ vide for the Defence of his Majesty’s Person, the  
 “ Kingdom and Parliament, should be removed, they  
 “ should very willingly and chearfully decline any  
 “ further Preparations, and lay down their Forces  
 “ already raised.

This they called their Replication, and order’d it to be read in all the Churches throughout *England* and *Wales*; so now they denounced the War in exprefs Words, which they had done long before in their Actions; and both Parties quitting all further Thoughts of Treaties, prepared to strengthen their Cause by the Addition of all the Forces they could draw together. In *London* they minded nothing but the forming their Army, and such other Acts of Power, as were conducive thereunto. And whoever opposed or discountenanced what they went about, were sure to be used with the most extravagant Severity was ever heard of; which I shall mention only in two Particulars: The first of Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of *London*, whom the Lords, upon a Complaint from the House of Commons, had committed to the Tower, for causing the King’s Proclamation against the Ordinance, by virtue of his Majesty’s Writ to him directed, according to the known Duty of his Office, to be publicly proclaimed; and shortly after, that they might place the Government of the City in the Hands of one more conformable to their Designs, notwithstanding he made it appear he had done no more than the Laws of the Land, the Customs of the City, the Constitution of his Office and Oath had obliged him to, he was adjudged by the Peers, in  
 Pre-



Presence of the Commons, "To be put out of his  
 "Office of Lord Mayor, to be utterly incapable of  
 "any Office in City or Kingdom, and of all Ho-  
 "nour or Dignity, and to be imprisoned during the  
 "Pleasure of the two Houses. Upon this Sentence,  
 Alderman *Pennington*, against the Rules of Election,  
 was made Mayor by the Noise and Clamour of the  
 common People, and the true old worthy Mayor  
 sent to the Tower, where, with exemplary Cou-  
 rage and Constancy, he remained almost to his  
 Death.

The other Particular I shall mention, is Judge  
*Mallet*. Whilst this Judge was holding the Assi-  
 zes at *Maidstone*, some Members of the House of  
 Commons, under the Stile of a Committee of Par-  
 liament, came to the Bench, and producing some  
 Votes, Orders, and Declarations of both Houses,  
 (in Behalf of the Ordinance, and against the Array)  
 requiring him to have them read: He answer'd,  
 "That he sat there by Virtue of his Majesty's Com-  
 "missions, and that he had no Authority to do any  
 "thing but what was comprised in those Commis-  
 "sions, and therefore that he cou'd not, nor wou'd  
 "not publish those Papers; and so the Committee  
 return'd to the House, with great Exclamations a-  
 gainst the Judge, (from whom, as well as from the  
 prime Gentry of the County, they found less  
 Submission than they expected). "as the Fomenter  
 "and Protector of a Malignant Faction against the  
 "Parliament. Upon which an Officer, attended  
 with a Troop of Horse, came with a Warrant to  
*Kingston* in *Surry*, and to the unspeakable Dishonour  
 of the publick Justice of the Kingdom, and Scandal  
 of all Ministers and Lovers of Justice, violently took  
 the Learned Judge from the Bench, and carried him  
 Prisoner to *Westminster*, from whence the two Houses

sent him to the Tower, where he was detained above two Years, without ever being charged with any particular Crime, 'till his Majesty exchanged him for another, whose Liberty they desired. These exalted Acts of Power and Terror taught the World, how unsecure that Man must be, who durst oppose them; and having Men, Arms, a General, and Money enough at their Devotion, they quickly form'd an Army, publickly disposing such Forces as had been rais'd for the *Irish* Service, and One Hundred Thousand Pound of that Money at a Clap, towards constituting an Army, which was to be led against their lawful Sovereign; and then they declared to the People, "That the Army was rais'd  
 "only for the Defence of the Parliament, the King's  
 "Person, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the  
 "Kingdom; that the King, seduced by wicked Coun-  
 "sellors, had rais'd a great Army of *Papists* to de-  
 "stroy the Parliament, and bring in Popery and Ty-  
 "ranny, of which they pretended to give full and  
 "ample Evidence, "and therefore they conjured all  
 "Men to assist their General the Earl of *Essex*.  
 And for a more secret Transaction of all such Counsels as were necessary, they formed a Committee to attend the great Business of the Kingdom, relating to the Army, who were empower'd to do many Things the two Houses, in full Parliament, had the least regular, legal, justifiable Authority to do. And that Men might be the better encouraged to enter into the Service, the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, whom his Majesty had formerly accused of High-Treason, had several Regiments conferred upon 'em; and by their Example several others of both Houses desired and obtained Command of Horse or Foot; their Quality making Amends for their Ignorance, and their other Defects, which were  
 sup.

supplied by many experienced Officers, *Scotch* and *English*; and the Earl of *Essex* his Reputation drew others out of the Low Countries to enter into the Service; and whilst they accused the King of a Design to bring in a foreign Force, and entertain Papists, they entertain'd all Strangers and Foreigners of what Religion soever, who desired to run their Risque in the War.

Whilst they went on with this Vigour, the King on his side had strange Difficulties to struggle withal; he was so far from having Money to levy or pay Soldiers, that he had not wherewithal to support the Tables kept by his Officers of State in Court; so that for very Want the Prince and Duke eat with his Majesty, which was the only Table that was kept up. This present Want was aggravated, in that there was no Prospect of any Supply in a reasonable Time. But the Want of Arms was more inconvenient than that of Money. So that the Levies wou'd at that Time be of little Use, when they shou'd continue unarmed. But that which perplex'd the King more than all the rest, was the Temper and Constitution of his own Party, which consisted mostly of Men drawn to him by the Impulse of Conscience, otherwise unexperienced in Action, and Strangers to the Mysteries and necessary Policy of Government, strict Observers of the Law, and as nice in all Matters relating to it, as the other pretended to be. All his Majesty's Old Counsellors and Servants, (except some few of never dying Honour, whom we shall have frequent Occasion to mention) appearing either publicly in *London* against him, or privately discrediting his Interest and Actions in his own Court. These Men still insisted upon the Execution of the Law, which if the King observed, "He wou'd in the End suppress whatever Extrava-



“gancies the Parliament practised. And believed  
 “the raising a War to be so wicked a Thing, that  
 “they thought it impossible the Parliament should  
 “ever design it, even then when they knew they  
 “were about it. However they concluded, He who  
 “first prepared an Army, wou’d first be odious to  
 “the People, by whose Affections he wou’d easily  
 “be suppress’d.

This Doctrine was generally embraced; and tho’  
 others (as well affected to the publick Peace) saw  
 plainly the Danger of those Conclusions, and how  
 irrecoverable the King’s Condition must be, if he  
 looked not more vigorously to his Defence, yet they  
 durst not declare themselves in any publick Debate,  
 but thought it sufficient to speak what was necessary to  
 the King in private, by which means he wanted  
 those solid Foundations of Counsel and Foresight his  
 Condition required; nor cou’d he with Safety dis-  
 cover the utmost of his Designs. And so he still  
 seem’d to aim at no Hostility, but what tended to  
 the Reduction of *Hull*; which he hoped wou’d  
 serve to draw the Train’d-Bands together, ’till he  
 could draw other Forces thither, which might be  
 of Service to that or any other Enterprize.

But there was another Reason, which made his  
 Majesty go to, and stay so long at *Beverly*, which  
 had it been known, might have produced a better  
 Effect. The Lord *Digby* had, with some Commands  
 from the Queen in *Holland*, arrived very privately,  
 and stayed some time in a Disguise at *York*, con-  
 ferring so privately with the King by Night, that  
 no Notice was taken of him; and finding by the  
 King’s Affairs, it was not yet convenient for him  
 to appear, he resolv’d to return back to the Queen,  
 and forward the Provision of Arms and Ammuni-  
 tion, so necessary for his Majesty’s Defence; and so

in the same Bark which brought him over, failed again for *Holland*, with *Wilmot*, *Asbburnham*, *Pollard*, and *Berkly*, who upon the Noise the Parliament made against 'em, removed from Court, 'till the King was ready for their Service. They were not long at Sea before they met the *Providence* with the Ammunition mention'd before; upon which they agreed, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, and *Berkley* shou'd return to the King, and *Digby* and Colonel *Asbburnham* pursue their Voyage for *Holland*. But those Parleys continued so long, that the Parliaments Ships came up to 'em, and tho' the Ship got off, as we have already observed, yet the Fly-Boot was taken, and carried in great Triumph into *Hull*, where Colonel *Asbburnham* was so well known to Sir *John Hotham* that he cou'd not conceal himself; but the Lord *Digby*, who had so really disguised himself, that his nearest Friends cou'd hardly have known him, pretended to be a *Frenchman*, whose Language he spoke extreamly well, and having made away with such Papers as were not fit to be perused, so well counterfeited Sickness when he got ashore, that he easily procured himself to be disposed in some obscure Corner for Repose, whilst Col. *Asbburnham*, the only Prisoner, as they thought worth minding, was carried to the Governor, who received him with as much Civility as he cou'd expect.

The Lord *Digby* being alone, quickly reflected on the Desperateness of his Condition, "That it was impossible to conceal himself long; that he was, how unjustly soever, the most obnoxious Man in the Nation to the Parliament, into whose Hands if he shou'd fall, his Life would be at least in apparent Danger: And how to extricate himself out of the Labyrinth, was very difficult, since Sir *John Hotham* reckoned him in the Number of his most in-

The Lord  
Digby's  
Transactions  
with  
Sir John  
Hotham  
in Hull.

ve-

veterate Enemies. However, (as he had more Presence of Mind upon Danger, then I ever knew in any Man) he resolved not to despair, but found Means in broken *English*, which might have fitted the Mouth of any *Frenchman*, to make his Guard understand, "That he desired to speak in private "with the Governor, to whom he cou'd discover "some Secrets, that wou'd be of great Use to the "Service of the Parliament. The Fellow quickly informed the Governor, who being a Master in the *French Tongue*, quickly sent for the *Frenchman*, who, in the Presence of much Company, without any Disorder, gave such an Account of himself, as he persuaded 'em to believe he had seen much of the *French Service*, and had been recommended to the King for some Command, it being conceived abroad, that he wou'd have Occasion for Soldiers. Then drawing the Governor, who wou'd not venture himself alone with him into another Room, to a great Window, at a convenient Distance from the Company, he asked him in *English*, if he knew him? The other surprized answer'd, *No*. "Then, said he, "I'll try whether I know Sir *John Hotham*, and if "he be in Truth that Man of Honour I have always look'd upon him to be; and thereupon discover'd himself, and said, "He hoped he was too "much a Gentleman to deliver him up to the Rage "and Fury of his implacable Enemies. The Governor, fearing he might be discovered by the By-standers, advis'd him to say no more for the present, assuring him he should find him the Man he thought him; that with the first Conveniency he wou'd find an Opportunity of conferring more with him: And so called the Guard instantly to carry him away, and look carefully to him; then turning to the Company, he told 'em, "The *Frenchman* was



“a shrew’d Fellow, and had told him that which  
“the Parliament would be glad to know, tho’ as yet  
“he had not so clear an Information, as he presum-  
“ed in two or three Days he shou’d have: And so  
went to his Chamber.

This Noble Person’s Stars had a strange Influence  
upon all this Affair. Sir *John Hotham* by Educa-  
tion was a rough unpolish’d Man, very covetous,  
proud and ambitious, an utter Stranger to all good  
Nature and Generosity, of Parts not quick, but  
composed; more likely to deceive, than be deceived;  
yet after all, this Young Nobleman, known and hat-  
ed by him for his extraordinary Faculty of Dissimu-  
lation, had won so much upon him, that he resolv-  
ed to practice that Virtue of Generosity, with the  
Imputation of which the other had complimented  
him, and not to let him fall into his Enemies Hands.  
He sent for him the next Day at a seasonable Hour,  
and told him, “Since he had so generously thrown  
“himself into his Hands, he wou’d not betray his  
“Trust, and wish’d him to consider what Way he  
“should set him at Liberty; he said, he would com-  
“mit the Secret to no Person living, least of all to  
“his Son, of whom he spoke with all possible Bir-  
“terness, as a Man violently addicted to the very  
“worst Designs the Parliament had, and sent thither  
“as a Spy upon him. Then he discoursed of the  
“Mischiefs that were like to befall the Kingdom, and  
“lamented his own Fate, that being of very different  
“Principles from those who push’d Things to this  
“Extremity, and of unfeign’d Affection to the King,  
“he shou’d now be considered as the chief Cause of  
“the War that was breaking out: Avowing, that an  
“Information sent him of the King’s Design, pre-  
“sently to hang him, was the real Cause of refu-  
“sing his Majesty Entrance into the Town.

There

## The HISTORY of

There was not a Tittle in this Discourse, but the Lord *Digby* knew how to cultivate; and therefore join'd with him in his Sense of the Miseries the Nation was likely to fall under; pathetically lamenting, "That it shou'd be in the Power of a few ill Men, "to involve him, and others of his clear Intentions, "in their dark Designs, which would unavoidably "determine in the Destruction of all the Under- "takers.

"For, he said, the King wou'd speedily reduce "all his Enemies: That all the Princes in Christen- "dom were interested in the Quarrel: And that the "Prince of *Orange* was resolved to come over at the "Head of his Army, and cou'd take *Hull* in three "Days. And after he had sufficiently amused and terrified him with this Discourse, he enlarged "up- "on the Honour that Man would have, who pre- "vented the terrible Confusion that was in View; "and told him, he was that Man, who in deliver- "ing up *Hull* to his Majesty, might prevent the War, "and establish a Peace throughout the Kingdom. "That what Interest he had with the King or Queen, "he wou'd employ it all in his Service, and he shou'd "find him more zealous for his Greatness, and a Re- "ward for his Merit, than he was now sollicitous "for his own Safety.

This was the Result of more than one Discourse, for so many Things together would have been too great a Burden for Sir *John Hotham's* Head. Who said, "It wou'd not become him after such a Refusal "to deliver the Town into the King's Hands, nor if he "wou'd, was it possible to effect it, the Garrison con- "sisting of Officers, in whom he cou'd not confide; "but if the King wou'd bring but one Regiment be- "fore the Town, plant his Cannon, and make but one "Shot, he shou'd think he had discharged his Trust,

"and

“and would immediately surrender it. And he was contented the Lord *Digby* should go on this Errant to the King, conducting him out of Town beyond the Limits of Danger.

When he had spoken with the King at *York*, it was resolved he shou'd appear publickly in his own Person, that the World might think he came over with the Ammunition. His Majesty, upon the Assurance he had received, declared he would such a Day go to *Beverly*, and order'd three or four Regiments of the Country to march thither as a Guard to his Person, together with a little Train of Artillery, which might serve for the Summons; and the Lord *Digby* return'd to *Hull* in his own Disguise, the better to make Matters correspond with the former Obligation; from *Beverly* the King sent out Officers to observe the Town, and such Advantage of Ground, upon which he might raise a Battery, as if he meant instantly to assault it.

*Whereupon  
his Majesty  
goes to Be-  
verly with  
a Design  
upon Hull,  
but in vain.*

All this while Sir *John Hotham* had been trying some of his Officers, and found 'em of a Temper not to be relied upon. His Son was grown apprehensive of some Design, and the Parliament had order'd new Officers to throw themselves into the Town, to assist in the Defence of it upon Occasion. So that the Lord *Digby* upon his Return found the Governor in a great Damp, and perplex'd that he had proceeded so far; of which his Lordship immediately acquainted the King; and was not long after, together with Col. *Asburnham*, dismiss'd by Sir *John Hotham*, when he found it in vain to think any further of it; and as the Parliament grew immediately jealous of him for his concealing, and then releasing those two Persons, so was it the chief Cause for which they took his Head off afterwards.

The



The King, upon his Return to *York*, found himself, by an Accident that fell out, under an absolute necessity of declaring War, and entring upon it, before he was in any degree prepared for Action; the Accident was, that *Portsmouth* had declared for the King, and refused to obey the Parliament, who had thereupon sent Sir *William Waller*, with an Army under his Command to reduce it.

Colonel *Goring* had been made Commander of the Place by the Parliament, with whom he was in great Reputation, after his Discovery relating to the Army, as was before remember'd; but by his Dexterity he persuaded the King in a few Months to believe he was sorry for that Fault, and would redeem it by any Service. After which he managed himself with so much Address, that at one and the same time he receiv'd 3000*l.* from the Queen, to fortifie the Garrison against it should be necessary to declare for the King; and a good Supply from the Parliament for the Payment of the Garrison, that it might be kept firm to their Service.

Some time after being sent for up to the Parliament, upon an Information the House had receiv'd against him by one of their own Members, he appeared in the House with so much Undauntedness, and justified himself with so much Innocence and Unaffectedness, that the Parliament, not without some Apology for the Trouble they had given him, desired him "to return to his Government, and  
"take all necessary Care for the Safety of the Place; consenting to all he had proposed in behalf of the Garrison, and paid him a round Sum of Mony for their Arrars; with which he repaired again to *Portsmouth*: In the mean time assuring his Majesty by those who were employed between them, "That in  
"a short time he would be in a Posture to make any  
"De-

" Declaration his Service should require; which he was obliged to do before he was prepared for it, tho' not sooner than he had reason to expect.

When the Lord *Kimbolton* had received his Commission for Lieutenant-General of the Horse, he wrote to him, desiring he might be excused from his Attendance upon the Army 'till it was ready to march, because he desired to be present 'till many things were perfected that were necessary for the Safety of that important Place. Whereupon that Lord prevail'd with the Earl of *Essex*, that he might not be sent for 'till they were ready to enter upon Action; and when at last the Lord *Kimbolton*, after several Excuses upon several Instances to come away, writ plainly to him, that he could no longer excuse his Absence from the Army, he writ him a jolly Letter, telling him, " He was advised by his Council " that it was dangerous to obey the Parliament, that " he had received the Command of that Garrison " from the King, and durst not absent himself from " it without his Leave; concluding with some good Advice to his Lordship.

The King's Affairs received a considerable Reputation, in that so important a Place as *Portsmouth* had declared for him, and so good an Officer as *Goring* was returned to his Duty; whereupon he forthwith published a Declaration, in which he recited all the Insolent, Rebellious Actions of the two Houses against him, forbidding all his Subjects to pay any Obedience to them: And at the same time publish'd his Proclamation, " Requiring all Men who could bear Arms to " come to him at *Nottingham* on the 24th of *August* " following, on which Day he intended to set up " his Royal Standard there, which all his good Subjects were obliged to attend. Many Men were of Opinion, that it had been more for his Majesty's Service

Service if he had set the Standard up at *York*; but the Inclination he had to be near *London*, and his Hopes of great Effects from *Portsmouth* and the *West*, made him prefer *Nottingham*; but that which determined the Point, was the Aversion the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen had to his Majesty's remaining in *York*; "which, they said, the People fear'd would "unavoidably make that Country the Seat of the "War. But those very Men remember'd, when the Time of his Majesty's Departure drew near, "That the Garrison of *Hull* would be a Thorn in "their Sides; that there were several Persons of "Quality and Interest in the Country disaffected "to his Majesty's Service, and some Places and "whole Corporations, who only wanted Leaders to "carry them into Rebellion. They therefore desired his Majesty to constitute the Earl of *Cumberland* supreme Commander of the Country in "all Military Affairs, and command Sir *John Glemham* to stay and govern those Forces the Earl "should think necessary to raise for their Defence; in both which his Majesty readily gratified them.

Before we leave *York*, we must give the Reader one Instance of what a ticklish Spirit the Time then was. The Lord *Fairfax* and his Son were almost the only Persons of any considerable Quality in that large County who were not well disposed to his Majesty, and who were influenced by two or three of inferior Rank. The King had resolved to take them all Prisoners, and he probably had thereby prevented the Mischiefs which shortly after broke out; but was dissuaded from it by the Gentlemen of the County, who alledged that so unpopular an Action would be their Ruin, exposing 'em to the Fury of the disaffected Party, who would rather increase than be weaken'd by it: And so his Majesty



sty took only two or three of less Note with him, who were most active in blowing up Sedition, and even those in a few Days were upon some specious Pretences set at Liberty; so careful were Men to dissuade his Majesty from any thing that carry'd not the full Face of the Law with it, believing the mildest Physick the most proper for such violent, outrageous Distempers.

The King arrived at *Nottingham* some time before the Day appointed for setting up the Standard, and hearing some Regiments of Foot were marching by the Earl of *Essex* his Orders towards *Coventry*, he made haste with some Troops of Horse well Armed to secure that City. He got thither the Day before them, but found the Gates shut against him, and some of his Servants shot and wounded from the Wall. There was no Remedy for this Affront, and so he lay that Night at Sir *Thomas Lee's* at *Stonely*, and the next Day his Body of Horse retired before the Enemy's Foot, not above 1200 Men in Number, with one Troop of Horse, without giving 'em one Charge; whereas they had the Advantage of an open Ground for five or six Miles together, and might in all probability, have easily purchased a very seasonable Victory. This unhappy Retreat, which was imputed to the ill Conduct of *Wilmot* their Commander, made his Majesty's Return to *Nottingham* very melancholy; where the Standard was erected, according to the Proclamation, upon the 25th of *August*, about six a Clock in the Evening of a very tempestuous Day. The King with a small Retinue rode to the Top of the Castle-Hill, the Standard being born by *Varney* the Knight-Marshal, who was Standard-Bearer. It was set up with little Ceremony, splenetick Men observing many ill Omens about that time. All

the Strength the King had there, for the Guard of his Person and the Standard, consisted in the Train'd-Bands. There was no Resort of Men in Obedience to the Proclamation; no Arms nor Ammunition come yet from *York*, and the whole Town lay drooping in a general Sadness. A violent unruly Wind blew down the Standard the same Night it had been erected, nor could it be restored in a Day or two, 'till the Tempest was abated. In this melancholy Posture of the King's Affairs was the Standard set up at *Nottingham*.

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IN-

# I N D E X.

**A**

**ABBOT** (*Arch-Bishop*) his Death and Character. 40  
**Argyle** (*Earl of*) takes the Covenant, 63. His Ingratitude to the King, 64. Withdraws from Edenborough. 189  
**Arundel** (*Earl of*) President of the Council, 25. His Character, *ibid.* High-Steward at the Earl of Strafford's Trial. 122

**B**

**Balfour** (*Sir William*) removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower. 217  
**Bedford** (*Earl of*) his Character, 94. Sworn of the Privy-Council, 106. His great Respect for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, 137. Undertakes to preserve the Earl of Strafford, 155. His Death. *ibid.*  
**Bristol** (*Earl of*) accused in Parliament, 13. Accuses the Duke of Buckingham, 14. Sworn Privy-Counsellor. 106  
**Brook** (*Lord*) refuses to subscribe the Protestation at York. 57  
**Buckingham** (*George, Duke of*) Son to Sir George Villiers, 4. His prodigious Rise, 5. Enmity to the Earl of Middlesex, 12. Whom he gets to be impeached in Parliament, 13. Hated by the Parliament, 14. Assassinated, 15. His Character, 18. Predictions concerning his Death. 20  
**Byron** (*Sir John*) made Lieutenant of the Tower. 218

**C**

**Carleton** (*Sir Dudley*) Secretary of State, 30. His Character. *ibid.*  
**Carlisle** (*Earl of*) his Country, Rise and Character. 28  
**Cavalier**, a Name first used to distinguish the Party. 223  
**CHARLES** (*Prince of Wales*) proposes to his Father his Journey into Spain, 6. Procures War to be declared against it, 12. Proclaimed King, 14. Declares War against France, 15. Levies Ship-mony, 33. Crown'd in Scotland, 37. Erects Edenborough into a Bishoprick, 39. Raises an Army against the Scots, 55. And a Fleet, *ibid.* Arrives at York, 57. Disbands his Army, 61. Calls a Parliament, 64. And dissolves it, 70. His second Army against the Scots, 71.



# INDEX.

- Calls the long Parliament, 79. Passes the Bill to Attaint the Earl of Strafford, 160. And that for a perpetual Parliament, ibid. Begins a Progress to Scotland, 176. His Return, and Reception in the City, 209. Goes to the House of Commons, 232. And to the Guild-Hall, 235. Answers the Remonstrance, 238. Removes from Whitehal to Hampton-Court, 249. From thence to Windsor, 256. Sends a Message to both Houses in his Way to York, 319. His Declaration from York, 327. Shut out of Hull, 355. Raises a Guard for the Security of his Person at York, 365. His Declaration in Council, 384. Sets up the Standard at Nottingham. 417*
- City of London petitions the King. 240*
- Colepepper (Sir John) made Chancellor of the Exchequer. 224*
- Conway (Earl of) General of the Horse, 71. His Character, ibid. Routed at Newburn. 73*
- Cook (Sir John) Secretary of State, 29. His Character, 30. Turn'd out. 60*
- Cottington (Sir Francis) Secretary to the Prince, 8. Opposes the Spanish Journey, ibid. For which reproached by the Duke of Buckingham, 9. His Trick upon the Arch-Bishop, 48. His Character. 77*
- Covenant Scottish. 53*
- Coventry (Sir Thomas) made Lord Keeper, 22. His Character, 23. His Death. 65*
- Cranfield (Lionel) made Earl of Middlesex, and High-Treasurer of England, 12. Impeached in Parliament. 13*
- ## D
- Deering, (Sir Edward) presents a Bill for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, 141. Which was read and laid aside. 172*
- Digby (Lord) his ill Advice to the King, 233. Accused by the Commons of High-Treason, 254. Withdraws beyond Sea, ibid. Arrives privately at York, 408. Carried Prisoner to Hull, 409. His Transactions with Sir John Hotham. 410*
- Dorset (Robert, Earl of) his Character 27. Threatened with an Impeachment. 220*
- ## E
- Embassador (French) his Intrigues with the H. of Commons. 175*
- Essex (Earl of) made Lieutenant-General of the Army against the*

# INDEX.

*the Scots*, 55. *Enters Berwick*, 56. *Grows disaffected*, 62.  
*His Character* 96. *Sworn of the Privy-Council*, 106. *Well affected to the Church*, 138. *A Saying of his to Mr. Hyde*, 144.  
*Made Lord Chamberlain*, 162. *Made Lieutenant-General on this side Trent*, 175. *Appoints a Guard to attend the Parliament*, 190. *Has the Chamberlain's Staff taken from him*. 342

## F

*Felton (John) his Family*, 15. *Stabs the D. of Buckingham*, 16.  
*His Resoluteness*, 17. *And Repentance*. 18  
*Finch, his Character*, 34. *A bold Saying of his*, 35. *Made Lord Keeper*, 65. *Withdraws beyond Sea*. 90  
*Fiennes (Mr.) his Character*, 98. *An Enemy to the Church*. 138  
*Falkland (Lord) made Secretary of State*. 224

## G

*Gardiner (Sir Tho.) Recorder of London*, 84. *Design'd by the King for Speaker of the House of Commons*. *ibid.*  
*Glanvil (Serjeant) chosen Speaker of the House of Commons*, 66.  
*His Speech*. 69  
*Goring (Col.) examined in Parliament*, 166. *Made Governor of Portsmouth*, 414. *Declares for the King*. 415  
*Gourney (Sir Tho.) Lord Mayor of London*, 208. *Committed Prisoner to the Tower*. 405  
*Griffith, a Welchman, his Information to the H. of Commons*. 301

## H

*Hambden (Mr.) refuses to pay Ship-mony*, 33. *His Question at a Debate*, 69. *His Character*, 97. *Enmity to the Church*, 138. *Accused of High-Treason*. 231  
*Hamilton (Marquis) commands a Fleet*, 56. *His Character*, 77. *His Policy*, 78. *Withdraws from Edenborough*. 189  
*Hartford (Earl of) made a Privy-Counsellor*, 106. *Created Marquis*, 143. *Made Governor to the Prince*. 291  
*Hallerigg (Sir Arthur) presents a Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford*, 131. *And another for settling the Militia*, 173. *Accused of High-Treason*. 231  
*Herbert (Soll. Gen.) his Speech*, 67. *Accuses the Lord Kimbolton and five Commoners of High-Treason*, 230. *For which he is sent to the Fleet by the House of Peers*. 346  
*Holland (Earl of) cherished by the Duke of Buckingham*, 29. *Grows a Courtier, &c.* *ibid.* *Declared General of Horse*, 55. *Loses*

# INDEX.

- Loses an Advantage at Duncce*, 58. *Appointed General of the Army*, 169. *Grows a Malecontent*, 181. *Embraces that Interest*, 186. *Turn'd out of the Court*. 342
- Hollis** (Denzil) *his Character*, 100. *Accused of High-Treason*. 231
- Hopton** (Sir Ralph) *committed to the Tower by the Parliament*. 314
- Hotham** (Sir John) *inveighs against the Earl of Strafford in the H. of Commons*, 87. *Sent down to command Hull*, 259. *Denies the King Entrance into Hull*, 355. *Proclaimed Traitor*. ib.
- Howard** (of Escrigg, Lord) *his Character*. 188
- Hyde** (Mr.) *puts a Question upon a Debate*, 69. *Discourse with Mr. Saint-John*, 71. *Negotiates with the City*, 118. *His Conference with the Earl of Bedford*, 142. *And the E. of Essex*. 144
- I
- James** (King of England) *consents to his Son's going into Spain*, 6. *But repents of it afterwards*, 7. *Offended at the Duke of Buckingham*, 9, 12. *Dies*. 14
- Juxton** (Dr.) *made Bishop of London*, 43. *High-Treasurer*. 46
- K
- Killigrew** (Sir H.) *his Answer in the H. of Commons*. 381
- L
- Lane** (Mr.) *pleads in Behalf of the Earl of Strafford*. 129
- Land** (Arch-Bishop) *his Rise*, 31. *Attends the King into Scotland*, 38. *His Character*, *ibid.* *His Proceedings against Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick*, 43. *Made Commissioner of the Treasury*, 44. *His Contest with the Lord Cottington*, 47. *His many Enemies*, 48. *Accused in Parliament of High-Treason*. 90
- Leicester** (Earl of) *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*. 191
- Lenox** (Duke of) 60. *Hated by the Parliament*, 171. *Questioned in the House of Peers*, 275. *Acquitted*. 276
- Lenthall**, *the Speaker of the House of Commons*. 85
- Lesley** (Colonel) *General of the Scots*, 55. *His Stratagem*. 58
- Lindsey** (Earl of) *made General by the King*. 290
- Littleton** (Lord) *made Lord Keeper*, 116. *Quits his Privilege of Voting upon the Earl of Strafford's Trial*, 123. *Carries the Seal to the King at York*. 377
- Liturgie** (Scottish) *publish'd first*, 51. *How received at Edenborough*. 52
- Lowden** (Lord) *Commissioner from Scotland*, 64. *Committed to the Tower*, 65. *Discharged*. 72



# I N D E X.

Lunsford (Sir Tho.) made Lieutenant of the Tower. 230

## M

Mallet (Judge) his generous Courage, 405. Committed to the Tower. 406

Manchester (Earl of) Lord Privy-Seal, 14. His Character. 23

Mandevile (Lord) marries the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, 95. And sides with the disaffected Party, 96. Sworn of the Council, 106. Accused of High-Treason. 231

Montgomery (Earl of) his Character, 27. Committed to the Tower. 162

Montros (Earl of) accuses Hamilton and Argile to the King. 188

## N

Newcastle, (Earl of) Treats the King, 37. Challenges the Earl of Holland, 62. Resigns his Place of being Governor to the Prince. 290

Northumberland (Earl of) Gen. of an Army against the Scots, 71. His first Defection from the King. 167

Noy (Attorney-General) promotes Ship-mony. 34

## P

Parliament (the long one) meets Nov. 3. 1641. 83. Appoint a Committee to treat with the Scotch Commissioners, 102. Borrow Mony of the City, 113. Their Preparations for the Earl of Strafford's Trial, 120. Frame a Protestation, 150. Their Explanation upon it, 153. Vote 300000*l.* for a Gratuity to the Scots, 163. Adjourn, 184. Read their Remonstrance, 197. And order it to be Printed, 203. Petition the King for a Guard, 219. Adjourn, and appoint a Committee to sit in the City, 235. Pass an Ordinance for settling the Militia, 294. Their Declaration concerning it, 359. Issue out Orders for bringing in Mony and Plate. 380

Pembroke (Earl of) Lord Chamberlain, 26. His Character. *ibid.*

Pennington (Alderman) his Speech in the House. 120

— Sir John, sent for up to the Parliament, 345. His ill Management. 391, &c.

Pym, his Speech, 66. Begins a Debate of Grievances, 86. His Character, 97. His Artifice against the Earl of Strafford, 131. Over-reaches the Earl of Northumberland, 167. Accused of High-Treason, 231. His Speech at a Conference, 272. Printed by Order of the House. 274

Queen

# I N D E X.

- Q
- Queen goes to Holland*, 300. *Her Diligence there.* 389
- R
- Roundhead, when first used.* 223
- S
- Saint-John, his Character*, 98. *Made Solicitor-General*, 117.  
*Knaveish Advice to the King.* 213
- Say (Lord) refuses to subscribe the Protestation at York*, 57. *His Character*, 64. *Sworn of the Council*, 106. *Ill Advice to the King.* 156
- Scots subscribe a new Covenant*, 53. *Their Pertinacy*, 62. *Their Letter to the French King*, 64. *Enter Newcastle.* 74
- Skippon made Major-General of the City Militia*, 230. *Musters the City Train'd-Bands in Finsbury-Fields.* 365
- Strafford (Earl of) made Lieutenant-General*, 73. *His Character*, 77. *Impeach'd in Parliament*, 87. *Brought to his Trial*, 123. *His Defence*, 124. *He is attainted*, 131. *And beheaded.* 158
- Stapleton (Sir Phil.) his Character.* 188
- Strode, accused of High-Treason.* 231
- T
- Tumults attempt Lambeth-House*, 72. *Flock down to Westminster and Whitehal*, 219, 220. *Repell'd from Whitehal.* 223
- V
- Vane (Sir Harry) made Secretary of State*, 62. *His Enmity to the Earl of Strafford*, 70. *His Evidence against him*, 127. *He is turn'd out of his Place.* 309
- *Junior, his Character*, 99. *His notable Discovery*, 133. *Aversion to the Church.* 138
- Villiers (Sir George) appears to an old Man at Windsor.* 20
- W
- Warwick (Earl of) the great Patron of the Puritans*, 95. *Made Admiral by the Parliament.* 345
- Weston (Sir Richard) Lord High-Treasurer*, 23. *His Character*, *ibid.* *Dies.* 43
- Williams (Bishop) writes against Laud*, 44. *His Disingenuity*, 122. *Sent with other Bishops to the Tower.* 229
- Windebank (Sir Francis) flies beyond Sea.* 91